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CATHOLICISM IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The Philippine Islands occupy an unique position in the Oriental Tropics. They are the only extensive land area of the Orient, the great majority of the native inhabitants of which profess the Christian religion. With the exception of the Mohammedans of the southern islands and the so-called wild or pagan peoples living chiefly in Luzon and Mindanao, the Philippine peoples (almost homogeneously) profess to follow the religion of Christ as expounded by the Roman Catholic Church. This is all the more striking, if one bears in mind the paganism and Mohammedanism of other nearby islands and mainland countries, and the religions of China and Japan.

The prime *motif* in the evangelization of these islands is found in Pope Alexander VI's mandates contained in the much-discussed Bulls of May 3 and 4, 1493, twenty-eight years before the discovery of the Philippine Archipelago by Magellan. The Bull *Inter Caetera*, of May 4, after granting permission to the Spanish sovereigns to make discoveries and conquests under certain conditions, straitly enjoins the following:

> Moreover we command you in virtue of holy obedience that, employing all due diligence in the premises, as you promise, nor do we doubt your compliance therein to the best of your loyalty and royal greatness of spirit, you send to the aforesaid mainlands and islands worthy, God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men, in order to instruct the aforesaid inhabitants and dwellers therein in the Catholic faith and train them in good morals.[1]

Magellan, upon his discovery of the archipelago in 1521, undertook, with an undoubtedly sincere religious enthusiasm, to convert the natives of the island of Cebu to the Catholic faith,

[1] BLAIR-ROBERTSON, Cleveland, 1903-09, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. i, pp. 09–110. This Series will be referred to as BR.

but with little real effect; for the wholesale baptisms performed by the secular priest who accompanied the expedition were regarded by the people rather as a spectacular entertainment staged for their benefit than as a rite designed to mark a spiritual rebirth. Of the ceremony, the only remembrance at the time of the Legazpi expedition was the small image of the Child Jesus which had been presented to the chief's wife at her urgent request "to keep in place of her idols,"[2] and which was regarded by the people with a reverence born of ignorance and superstition.

The real evangelization began with the Legazpi expedition, which through its establishment of the Spanish settlement of Cebu in 1565, and that of Manila in 1571, also marks the beginning of continuous Philippine-European relations. Coincident with the military and civil foundations entered the religious, for it can never be charged against the Spanish Crown that it failed to make provision for the fulfilment of the religious duty outlined by Alexander VI. This first organized attempt to convert the heathen of the new Oriental possessions was entrusted by royal order to the Augustinians. The religious warrant establishing the first branch of that order in the Philippines was issued from the Augustinian convent of Culhuacan in the City of Mexico in 1564, some months before the departure of the Legazpi expedition. By it the missionaries were charged

> to announce the all-holy gospel of Christ to all races, baptizing them that believe in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; training them in the Holy Catholic Faith, on the same lines on which the faithful are trained by our cherished mother the Church of Rome, shunning utterly therein all novelty of doctrine, which we desire shall in all things conform to the holy and ecumenical councils and doctrines acknowledged by the same Church; teaching them especially that obedience which all Christians owe to the supreme Pontiff and the Church of Rome—which in truth is always the leader, head, and mistress of all the other churches of the world—then to their lawful rulers and masters; teaching them at the same time to live under the yoke and discipline of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and to forget, moreover, their old-time superstitions and errors of the Devil.[3]

This warrant was placed in charge of a truly remarkable man, namely, Andrés de Urdaneta, who, before he had assumed the

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[2] BR, Vol. xxxiii, pp. 159-161 (Pigafetta's *Journal*), and Vol. iii, p. 180.
[3] BR., Vol. ii, p. 166.

habit of St. Augustine, had fought as a successful officer in the Low Countries, and was deservedly well known as a navigator and mathematician. Under his orders sailed five friars of his order, two of whom at least were above the average in ability. To Urdaneta, however, was entrusted a dual duty, for he was both head of his brethren and chief pilot of the expedition. He it was who guided the ships safely to Cebu, for as a non-churchman he had been a member of the ill-fated Loaisa expedition of 1525, and had wandered for about a half-score of years up and down these Oriental seas pursued by the malevolence of the Portuguese, between whom and the Spaniards, at that time the foremost of Catholic peoples, existed a most unchristianlike hatred. Urdaneta it was also who guided one of the ships of Legazpi's fleet back to Mexico over a hitherto almost trackless expanse of waters, thus establishing a definite connection between New Spain and its colony, without which the Legazpi expedition must have been a failure. His direct connection with the missionary labors of the Philippines was, indeed, very slight, for he never returned to the islands; but it was in all likelihood due to his connection with the fleet of Legazpi (and it must be remembered that he was definitely ordered by King Philip to act as chief pilot) that the Augustinians obtained the *omne modo* privilege of labor in the new mission field.

The Augustinians, however, did not long enjoy their monopoly of the care of souls in the Philippines, for the field was large, and laborers were not over plentiful. As the colonists increased in number, they began quite naturally to ask for members of other religious orders, and this joined to pressure both from Spain and from Mexico, exerted both by the orders themselves and by private persons, brought it about that, by 1606, the Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Augustinian Recollects had also been given establishments in the islands. The Benedictines, the only true order of monks ever in the Philippines, did not appear until the closing years of the nineteenth century, and their function has been mainly educative.[4] Nothing can be said here of

[4] Many writers continually fall into the error of confusing the terms "friar" and "monk," which they use synonymously, calling the members of the Mendicant Orders, and even the Jesuits, "monks."

the women's orders that were established in the islands, because of lack of space.

The regulars and the Jesuits did not, even in these early days, form the whole ecclesiastical organization of the Philippines. As noted above, the friars and members of the Company of Jesus were sent over as missionaries, with the function of teaching emphasized in the case of the latter. It was the intention of the Spanish Crown, oft expressed in royal decrees, to replace the missionaries of any community with secular priests, as soon as an advance was made beyond the purely mission stage, so that the former might go on to new mission fields or retire to their convents. This end was never reached to any very great degree, for but few seculars were sent over from Spain or Mexico, and whenever the substitution was seriously considered in Spain or the Philippines, it gave rise to great commotion and confusion in the islands; so much so, in fact, that the friars threatened to desert the archipelago altogether.[5]

Although the secular clergy themselves played a minor part in the ecclesiastical history of the archipelago, the secular forms of Church government did, on the other hand, exercise considerable weight, and that from an early period. In the beginning of Spanish colonization, the Church government was made an appanage of the metropolitan see of New Spain, just as the civil government was placed under the supervision of the viceroy of that important colony. In 1578, upon petition of the Spanish monarch, Pope Gregory XIII created the see of Manila which was declared to be suffragan to the Archbishopric of New Spain;[6] and in 1595, Manila, by another papal bull, became itself an archiepiscopal city, while other bulls erected the three suffragan episcopates of Nueva Segovia, Cebu, and Neuva Cáceres.[7]

As hinted above, the ecclesiastical policy of the Philippines was largely shaped by the influence of the religious orders. Of the twenty-five archbishops of the islands, fourteen belonged to either one of the four regular orders aforesaid, one belonged to

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[5] The two most remarkable occasions were during the terms of Archbishop Camacho (1696–1712) and Santa Justa y Rufina (1767-1787).

[6] BR, Vol. iv, pp. 119–124.

[7] BR, Vol. ix, pp. 150-153.

the order of the Hieronomites, one was a Trinitarian, one a member of the *Escuelas Pias* (Pious Schools), and only eight were seculars. Since on the whole, as seen above, comparatively few secular priests were sent from Spain or Mexico, and the native priesthood, with rare exceptions, did not rise to the dignity of the higher offices,[8] members of the religious corporations served also in the capacity of parish priests. Such priests, therefore, held a dual allegiance, namely, that to the head of their order, and that to the immediate secular head—the archbishop or one of the suffragan bishops—to the first with regard to the conventual rule, and to the second with regard to the right of episcopal visit. Whenever, as was most frequently the case, the immediate head of the secular machinery was a regular, there was little disturbance in the *statu quo*, so far as the episcopal visitation was concerned; but when the secular clergy were in control of the archbishopric, this question came immediately to the front (unless, as was sometimes the case, the secular ecclesiastical officials were under the influence of the regulars), and, then, sometimes, there was little chance for peace and harmony.

It is not our present intention to outline the history of the several ecclesiastical units in the Philippines, nor their relations among themselves or with the civil and military authorities. The above short and imperfect sketch of the ecclesiastical machinery of which Spain made use in its colonization of the Philippines must supply in some manner the background to the remainder of this paper. Much has been written *pro* and *con* on the subject of the friars and the Jesuits in the Philippines, their points of excellency, and their quarrels with each other and with the governors or other officials.[9] The close relationship of

[8] One of the remarkable exceptions was the election in 1862 of Dr. Pedro Pelaez, a Filipino secular priest, to govern the Archbishopric of Manila after the death of Archbishop Aranguren, an Augustinian Recollect. He held this post only slightly over a month, when the regularly-appointed incumbent arrived.

[9] For interesting matter touching this question, see the following titles: ANTONIO DE MORGA, *Report of Conditions in the Philippines*, in BR, Vol. x, pp. 75-102; EDUARDO NAVARRO, O.S.A., *Estudio de algunos asuntos de actualidad* (Valladolid, 1897); *The Friar Memorial of 1898 to the Spanish King*, in BR, Vol. lxii, pp. 227-286; ELADIO ZAMORA, O.S.A., *Las Corporaciones religiosas en Filipinas* (Valladolid, 1901), and CHARLES H. CUNNINGHAM, *Origin of the Friar Lands in Question in the Philippines*, in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. x, August, 1916, pp. 465-480. Other matter will readily be found in bibliographical lists.

Church and State, while it imposed a duty on the Spanish Crown to support and favor religion and religious efforts in every way, was unable to prevent the frequent unseemly strife that was continually arising between the agents of the two estates. At times the friars were opposed to the combined forces of the Jesuits, secular ecclesiastical officials, and civil and military authorities: at times all the ecclesiastical units were united against the governor, who might also be opposed by one or more of the *oidores* of the royal *Audiencia;* and almost every other possible kind of combination occurred at one time or the other. The feeling between the Dominicans and Jesuits, of long standing in the islands, was reënforced at the time of the expulsion and later return of the latter, and curiously enough was seen again only a few years ago at the time of the papal decision returning to the Jesuits a school formerly under their control but for many years under that of the Dominicans. History shows that the elements of human ambitions and passions have not been absent from the contestants of either side, ecclesiastical or civil. Let not one be too hasty and say that the responsibility for the quarrels, uproars, and confusion lay altogether with one or the other party to the strife. It was distinctly on both sides, and the historian must try to find a golden mean. That abuses should spring up was but natural; the wonder is that considering all the factors, the trouble was no greater. The distance of the islands from Spain made it well nigh impossible for the government, even had it always been desirous of so doing, to correct imperfections both of Church and State agents. The student must frankly premise that abuses were sure to arise among associations of men into whose hands was entrusted power of so colossal a nature as that given to the religious orders. History cannot disprove the fact that in the Philippines the evils that befell the islands during the Spanish administration arose in part from the element of unbridled power. Both Church and State, through their faulty human agents, must accept their due share for those evils. As a matter of fact, it must be conceded that no country can show a code of laws better on the whole than that of Spain; and those laws, because of the structure of the State, embraced religious as well as purely political matters. Troubles arose through the non-enforcement of stat-

utes possibly as often as because of the faulty state organization, in which the attempt was made to prescribe human conduct under any and all circumstances.

One is tempted from its interest to dwell at greater length on the organization of things ecclesiastical in the Philippines. The remainder of this paper must, however, concern itself quite closely with concrete expositions and results, the present status, and the future outlook. Turning abruptly, therefore, from the consideration of the ecclesiastical machinery itself to the condition of the people at the period of the military and religious conquest, and the religious effect produced by virtue of the operation of the forces of the conquest, and the more stable period following the conquest, some not uninteresting facts are to be noted and observations made. At the time of the permanent colonization by Spain, the religion of the Prophet, which had been introduced by way of Borneo about a half-century before Magellan's discovery and had quite firmly intrenched itself in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, was spreading with some rapidity up along the western coast of Luzon and the coasts of the islands in its immediate vicinity. It is probable, considering its rapid advance, that had the Spanish colonization been delayed for another fifty years, the coast regions of the entire archipelago would have been solidly Mohammedan, while the interior regions, as in Mindanao, would have remained largely pagan, in which case, the Christian missionary would have had another tale to tell.

The early religion of the Malayan inhabitants of the archipelago such as it was, was of the animalistic type, and had no cogent organization. The forces of nature and natural objects influenced profoundly the minds of this simple people, who rejoiced at nature's bounty and trembled at her harsher moods as the manifestation of an evil *anito* or spirit. There were good *anitos* and bad *anitos*, and these latter the ignorant and superstitious people sought to propitiate by means of various kinds of incantations, offerings and sacrifices. Bold and stormy headlands, certain trees, and peculiar-shaped stones were objects of especial veneration. Religious ceremonies embraced various kinds of incantations and charms which were calculated to ward off evil, and produce good results. To this impressionable

nature-people came the Christian missionaries, with their offering of the deep, awe-inspiring Sacrifice of the Mass, which was quickly accepted, and together with all the new forms, taken over *in toto* as a part of their life. The conversion progressed with amazing rapidity, so rapidly, indeed, that before the end of the sixteenth century, the new faith had been accepted in almost all those parts of the islands which are today Christian. Almost no headway, on the other hand, has ever been made in the districts where Mohammedanism was well established or in the mountainous interiors where the old nature-worship still exists much as at the time of the discovery; in the first instance, probably because Mohammedanism has had a compact organization, and in the second, because of the hostility of the people.

In their evangelization, the missionaries, notwithstanding the differences that were continually arising between them and the civil and military officials, were powerfully aided by the secular forces of the government, while they themselves helped materially in the preservation of order and the establishment of stable government. The military entrance generally preceded the advent of the missionaries or the two entrances went together. The friars and other ecclesiastical workers were able to soften materially the rigors of the conquest, which in itself was much more mild than in Mexico. Some of the troubles that arose, indeed, originated from the restraining influence exerted by the missionaries, which not unnaturally aroused resentment among pioneers who could scarcely be characterized as acting too gently toward the native peoples.

It is approximately correct to say that since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the predominant religion of the Philippine Islands (always keeping in mind the Mohammedanism of the Moros of the south and the paganism of the wild peoples) has been the Roman Catholic. The majority of the Filipinos would today as in the past bitterly resent any imputation against their Faith. Three centuries and a half of Spanish control and tutelage has settled that question for them. And yet, the readiness with which the early Filipinos[10] embraced the

[10] By the term "Filipinos" is to be understood the descendants of the eight peoples who adopted Christianity, namely, the Tagalog, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Sambal, Iloco, Ibanag, Bicol, and Bisaya. The negritos, the pagan malayan peoples,

Faith does not mean that the old forms and beliefs were discarded in their entirety, nor that they have yet altogether disappeared. Filipinos (and it must of course be premised that the ignorant masses of the people are here meant) see no incongruity in blending together the old and the new. There is still to be seen in all parts the persistence of the older religious belief. Certain trees are still held in reverence, and the ignorant and superstitious *tao* or peasant would not even think of cutting one down or of digging about it. He will do so at the command of those in authority but never of his own accord. Caves are still the mysterious abodes of the spirits. Supernatural beings still inhabit the mountains; and the disastrous eruption of the volcano of Taal near Manila a few years ago, was ascribed by many to the spirit or god of the volcano. Rather elaborate ceremonies are still performed in many places at birth and death, at planting and harvest times, and upon other occasions. Mr. Emerson B. Christie, for a number of years engaged in ethnological work in the Philippines, and who has made a thorough study of the Iloco people, says that it is not unusual for a person immediately after attending Mass with all the devotion that can be desired, to go to the window of his house where the following exhortation is addressed to the spirits:

"Umaikayon, appo umaikayon umaikai amin amin, dagiti pilai obbaenyo, dagiti bulsek kibinenyo."[11]

Sacrifices are still performed in some outlying districts under cover of the night with almost identically the same ceremonies as those described by Pigafetta in his *Journal* of the Magellan expedition; but some of these ceremonies while performed and attended by persons who profess Christianity are doubtless largely due to the influence of nearby pagans, and many of those attending are probably what are known as "new Christians"—that is, recent converts from paganism of a recent generation. In all parts of the islands, there is still a firm belief in the *asuang*, an evil spirit or witch, and murders still occasionally occur of persons who are believed to be *asuang*. Only two or three years

and the Moros (Mohammedans) are all included under the term "Non-Christians," and all the native peoples collectively under the term "Philippine peoples."

[11] In English: "Come now, come now, sirs, come, come all, all, let the lame have themselves carried, let the blind be led."

ago, the belief was current among the ignorant people of several of the districts of Manila that an American Negro was possessed by an *asuang*, and that he was nightly changed into a large black dog. Other familiar spirits, the remnants of old beliefs that formed a part of the early indigenous life, cause only a lesser degree of apprehension than in the old days.[12] It is true, that as the old fear is removed by education and the advance of enlightenment, the former beliefs and stories are assuming the guise of folklore, and are often told to children for moral effect.

Instances such as the above, and the list might be extended *ad libitum*, have a decided significance in the religious life of today. They prove that at times the Christian faith was an overlay on the old native beliefs and superstitions. More than that, the superstitious Filipino has only too often manufactured new superstitions from the Christian faith which he has adopted, or it might be more accurate to say that he has adapted the old superstitions to terms of Christianity. It could not well be otherwise. For instance, the people of one section reverse an image of the Virgin known as Our Lady of Peñafrancia, which is said to be of pure gold and to possess the miraculous power of continual growth. The image itself is never seen, in place of it a wooden image is exhibited at the annual fiesta. As a climax to the annual celebration, in which the native clergy participate, the image is placed aboard a catamaran, which is slowly poled downstream. The people believe that anyone touching even the catamaran will be healed of all manner of infirmities and diseases. Accordingly, all the infirm gather along the shore, and as the catamaran glides by, throw themselves into the water in order to touch the vessel. The ceremony of the flagellation, which is performed annually in a small hamlet near Manila, brings in another element, namely, the vicious. Started at first by the missionaries in all devotion, it has degenerated partly into a special ceremony of the vicious class, who imagine that its practice ensures them success in their crimes. Consequently, this ceremony is now frowned upon by the clergy, but it is dying hard.

[12] The persistence of old beliefs is seen in the everyday world as well as in the religious. A boy in the public schools in Manila, after reciting very correctly a question as to the form of the world remarked that of course it was flat.

This proclivity of the ignorant people was continually fought by the missionaries, who early recognized its existence, but often in vain. The very ease with which the conversion proceeded would argue a certain instability on religious matters; and this may be readily seen at the present time. A Filipino today may claim to be a Protestant, or to have leanings in that direction: yet there is no inconsistency in his participating in a procession or other ceremony organized under the auspices of the parish church in his neighborhood. Indeed, a new faith might spring up overnight, the roots of which are to be found in the lack of control alluded to above. A few years ago, the simple folk of one of the districts of Manila were raised to the fever heat of excitement by the discovery of a small fountain of fresh water bubbling up from amid the salt waters of Manila Bay. This phenomenon was caused by the bursting of a sewer that extended out into the bay, but to the mass of the people who were probably duped by some clever rascal for the purpose of personal gain, this was indeed a great miracle, and they eagerly bought at fabulous prices small phials of the wonderful liquid, the spring even having been blessed by Aglipay, the "bishop" of the schismatic church. The repair of the sewer quashed the new cult as quickly as it had arisen, but not until after an outbreak of cholera due to the drinking of the water.[13] Many other instances of a like nature might be cited, such as that of Papa (Pope) Isio, of the Island of Negros, who claimed to be divine and who attracted a numerous following to himself partly through fear and partly through fanaticism.

The uncertain status of the religious life in the islands is well exhibited by the Agilpay schism. This, however, had a political as well as religious side, which of course further complicated the the matter. Gregorio Aglipay, a native of one of the Iloco provinces in the north of the Island of Luzon, and a duly ordained secular priest, had attained to considerable eminence under Archbishop Nozaleda during the closing years of the Spanish regime. During the revolution against Spain, which broke out in 1896, he pursued a somewhat devious course (the whole story of which is

[13] The instance is mentioned by WORCESTER, *The Philippines Past and Present*, Vol. i, p. 437. New York, 1914. The same author gives other interesting instances (Vol. ii, pp. 444-449).

not yet fully known), in which he played off one side against the other with considerable astuteness. Shortly after the beginning of American control, Aglipay finally split with the ecclesiastical authorities, and largely through the influence of a fellow-countryman, Isabelo de los Reyes, a layman of considerable force of character, though lacking in balance, headed a new church known as the Aglipay or Independent Filipino Church. An effort was made to give the new institution a national character, which caused the government to fear that, under cover of religion, the Filipinos were plotting a new revolt against American authority. The movement spread like wildfire at first. The majority of the masses and some of the upper-class people of the two Iloco provinces joined the schism, which also numbered followers in almost all the islands in which Christianity was professed. At one time Aglipay claimed over 3,000,000 adherents, but this was doubtless a gross exageration. In many places, however, whole congregations of the Roman Catholic Church went over to the new sect, and other congregations were violently split apart. The schismatics attempted to take possession of the churches and other church property, but they were compelled by law to return them to their former owner, the Roman Catholic Church. At the inception of the movement, Aglipay and Reyes consulted the Protestants, especially the Methodists who had gone to the Philippines shortly after the capture of Manila, and considerable advice was received from that quarter, as well as from the Episcopalians. But the movement soon grew beyond control, and Reyes by his dominating personality gave the new church a direction that it never would have taken under the sole tutelage of Aglipay. To Reyes, in fact, are due very largely the Constitution, the so-called Bible of the Filipino Independent Church, the Catechism, and other literature published under the auspices of the new organization, much of which is a curiously puerile mass of contradictory, plagiarized, and undigested material. In his efforts to depart as far as possible from the tenets of the old Church, Reyes obligated the Aglipay Church (on paper) to a course broader in many ways than that of the most radical Unitarian Church. In real practice, however, the ceremonies of the schismatic church, except possibly in one or two instances, have never deviated in any essential from those of the Catholic

Church, and the same Mass may be heard today in both churches. The Catholic Church has maintained on the whole, aside from its effort to regain possession of its property, a laissez-faire policy in regard to the schismatic church, and it is possibly partly due to this fact that the movement has greatly died out with the return of many of its adherents to the bosom of Mother Church. But it cannot be denied that the schism was a matter of deep concern to the Church, for Archbishop Harty, until quite recently the head of the Manila Diocese and of the Church in the Philippines, remarked to the writer in 1910 that it was only the Providence of God that had saved the Catholic faith in the Philippine Islands.

Mention was made above of the Protestant sects. One of the results of the Treaty of Paris, of December, 1898, was freedom of religious worship in the Philippines, with the complete separation of Church and State, in imitation of the American plan. Various Protestant sects entered the islands almost immediately and today the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Disciples, all have establishments in the islands, each, except the last named, being assigned, by mutual agreement, special districts in which to work. Besides ministering to American and European Protestants, these sects are said to have about 200,000 adherents among the natives, but some of these must be regarded as uncertain quantities because of the characteristic instability noted above. That there will ever be any great defection from the Catholic Church is extremely problematical, for notwithstanding any racial traits, three centuries of constant teaching cannot be readily set aside.

On the other hand, the Aglipay schism and the presence of the Protestant sects have not been without a quickening influence on Catholicism, for they have aided by the very fact of their being part of the great task that confronted the American Catholic clergy, namely, the establishment of the Church in the Philippines on the American basis, and the correction of those undesirable conditions that have grown up during the years of Spanish control when the Church, being itself a part of the body politic, was injured by the very fact of that too intimate connection. The competition has served a good end for Catholicism, as it has thus been placed on its mettle in a way it might never have

been without it. The American clergy, I venture to think, recognized this fully.

Catholics in America, have, perhaps, not appreciated the immense task set before their clergy in the Philippines, and perhaps appreciate as little what has been done. The Filipino revolution against Spain was partly the outcome of rancor, real or fancied, against the mendicant orders. It is said that Spain, in order to aid in the restoration of peace was about to suppress the friar orders in the Philippines, but this move was frustrated by the intervention of the United States and the status of the islands was forever changed. Contrary to the expectations of many Filipinos, the friars were not expelled, although many did, of their own accord, return to Spain. The government did, indeed, purchase the large estates owned by the several orders, and this removed one of the specific causes for complaint. The Filipino clergy were also advanced in dignity, with good effect on the people at large. In as far as possible, the American clergy, always small in number, has sought to allay the feelings of the Filipinos. This has been a task of great magnitude and delicacy, for the Filipinos are as sensitive, probably, as any people on the face of the earth, and dealings with them call for an immense amount of tact. It had to be recognized at the outset that the Filipino clergy was not, in all instances, living up to its vows. A Filipino newspaper, early in the present century, commenting on this matter, said that this might be the case, but that the Filipino priests who were at fault were simply taking pattern from the friars. Be that as it may, the archbishop and his helpers have sought valiantly to remedy complaints of this nature both by admonition and by a careful selection of new candidates for the priesthood. In regard to this last point, Archbishop Harty told the writer that out of over a score who had recently presented themselves for admission to the seminary, he had selected four, and that these four would be subjected to the severest kind of discipline during their course to prove their fitness. Today there are few, if any, complaints heard from the Filipino clergy that a "square deal" is not being given to them.

However, there is still much complaint about the presence of the friar, and the Church would have to fear lest, in the event of

the granting of complete political independence, one of the first moves would be the expulsion of the friars or a hostile campaign against them. Many Filipinos of the intellectual class always make the sharp distinction between Catholicism and the friars, asserting devotion to the tenets of the Faith, but condemning the friars. In case of any trouble, the masses of the people would simply move with the current, and any situation might easily become critical. On the other hand, many of the Filipinos are apparently devoted to the friars, who have during the last few years been increasing in numbers, and gaining new power. A decidedly good impression has been given by the American friars and Jesuits who have gone to the Philippines. These men have not spared themselves, but have worked with true devotion to the cause they represent. One of them, a Dominican, was a professor in the Dominican University of Santo Tomás, and has deservedly ranked high for his scholarship. An Augustinian has organized important work among the students of the University of the Philippines, and a Jesuit has devoted himself with rare devotion and enthusiasm to religious work in the great prison of the Philippines, Bilibid. These, and others of the American clergy, compare favorably with the best of the Spanish pioneer missionaries.

The danger to Catholicism in the Philippines lies in the very flexibility of the material on which it works. The great question, after all, that must be asked is whether along with acquiescence to forms and ceremonies, that is, to the outward devotion, there is a corresponding inward acquiescence that comes from the heart. It may be that the American priests in the Philippines can answer this question unqualifiedly in the affirmative. If they can, they can rest assured that nowhere in the world will there be a more devout people than the Filipinos. If not, then devoted work for a long series of years, with perhaps an equivocal answer at the end, is ahead of them. There is no danger that Protestantism will seriously invade the islands. Catholicism has practically a clear field, but it must advance carefully, yet vigorously, if it would wish to keep that field. For instance, a very bad impression was made among thinking Filipinos because complaints were heard from certain Catholic quarters regarding the establishment of the Filipino Young Men's Christian Association, and the

erection of buildings for its use. "Had the Catholic Church," said these Filipinos, "established such an agency among us, there would have been no need for the Young Men's Christian Association," and it would never have been established among us. In proof of this, the work established among the University boys by the Augustinian above mentioned was eagerly welcomed, and was well worth better support than it received from American Catholics. The Church in the case of the Young Men's Christian Association moved too late, and this has been the history of Catholicism in the islands more than once. The criticism has been made, unfairly, it is true, and not by Protestants only, that the Church will not make an innovation or undertake a manifestly important and necessary work until forced to do so by other and outside agencies.

This paper should not close without noting some of the accomplishments of the various units of the Church in the Philippines, which have been many and important. The first great fact that stands out, almost above everything else in the islands is, of course, the evangelization of the Filipinos. This had an immense bearing on the conquest and colonization, which could never have proceeded so easily without the help of the missionaries. It is perhaps generally known that the oldest university under the American flag is the University of Santo Tomás which was projected as early as 1601, founded in 1610, further increased in 1619, and recognized as a royal university in 1645, equal to the Universities of Mexico and Lima. Many of the most prominent Filipinos past and present have received their education in this institution. The Dominicans from an early date have also engaged in primary and secondary education. The Jesuits claim to have founded the first school in the islands, namely that of San José, which was made possible by the bequest of one of the early conquistadors. That order has had much to do with education during its whole career in the islands, especially since its return to the Philippines in 1859, soon after which the Ateneo de Manila, which has had so great an influence on modern life, and which was more in accord with modern educational principles than any previous institution, was founded. The art of printing was introduced into the Philippines in the first decade of the seventeenth century by the missionaries, and the early

presses were established in the convents of the various orders. A study of any of the standard bibliographies of the Philippines will show many titles that came from these presses.

Not so well known as the religious and educational work of the missionaries and parish priests is their promotion of work in other lines. They have had an immense influence in the transfer of animals and plants to the Philippines from Spain and Mexico. From the very beginning they took interest in agriculture, and introducted many new things into the islands. The history of the agricultural accomplishments of the Spanish clergy in the Philippines is worth an entire paper rather than these few lines. Other public improvements were introduced by the religious and secular priests. They built roads and bridges, convents and churches, and engaged in various industrial activities. At times they led their flocks against the hostile Moros. They accompanied the conquistadors on their expeditions, where with unflinching courage, they administered the rites of the church in the very face of death. They advanced from the Philippines to the mission fields of China and Japan and other nearby places, and both within and without the islands, they showed that martyrdom could be robbed of its terrors and made glorious. Above all, the work of the Spanish priests in the Philippines is a work that can be built upon by American Catholics, and Catholicism has no cause to hide its head because of mistakes made by its human agents, because a great work was done and there is yet a great work to be done in the Philippine Islands.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

THE REV. HERCULE BRASSAC

EUROPEAN VICAR GENERAL OF THE AMERICAN BISHOPS (1839–1861)

The following biographical sketch needs an apology. It is not a narrative on strictly scientific lines, such as would dignify an historical review, but rather a *causerie d'histoire*, told as in a circle of interested friends. The subject is, however, an interesting one for the American Catholic historian.[1]

In a previous issue of the *Catholic Historical Review*,[2] I called attention to a letter, dated Paris, December 27, 1842, from Canon Adalbert Inama, one of the pioneer priests of Wisconsin, in which he describes his journey from Munich to Paris. "On the evening of the eighteenth," he says, "we got out of the *diligence* in the most crowded part of this fairy town near the Tuilleries. My travelling companion, a Bavarian missionary, and myself, had been directed by the Munich Missionary Society[3] to Mr. Brassac, Vicar General in Europe of the American Bishops. He directed us to a pension, where we were splendidly housed." In this same letter Canon Inama writes: "Vicar General Brassac tries repeatedly to engage me for Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati." Another notice of Father Brassac is to be found in the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung* for 1839,[4] where a footnote says that in December, 1838, Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati arrived in Vienna with "his Vicar General, Mr. Brassac," and that from there they went to Rome.

My curiosity was aroused by these statements. I wanted to know more about this "European Vicar General of the American Bishops" at that early period of the Catholic Church in the United States. In spite of my researches, I regret to state that a full and well-connected biography of Father Brassac cannot be given. Judging from my correspondence with Catholic historical scholars, Father Brassac appears to be almost unknown. Yet, from the following data, it would seem that his personal character

[1] The principal archival sources used for this article will be found in the Department of DOCUMENTS in this issue, pp. 448-470.

[2] Vol. ii (1915-1916), p. 186.

[3] The Ludwig Missions Verein, founded at Munich, in 1839.

[4] Vol. xii, p. 60.

and his work for the early church of America are deserving of lasting recognition.

It is now one hundred years since Brassac, as a young seminarian, set out from France for the Catholic missions of Louisiana, which then embraced almost all of the present ecclesiastical provinces of New Orleans and St. Louis, excepting Texas, and all the west shore of the Mississippi from New Orleans to Dubuque. Brassac spent fourteen years of active pioneer life on these Louisiana missions. His letters which are still preserved in the Archives of St. Louis and Cincinnati, breathe the spirit of sincere piety, a strong confidence in God, a loyal submission to ecclesiastical authority, a generous Christian charity, and a deep affection for his personal friends. The many changes in his missionary activities might seem to point to a somewhat restless disposition. But we must remember that these early pioneers had to go from place to place, wherever the call for work was most urgent, though the distances were appalling. They were amazing travelers, though not of the class to whom the old ditty points: *Qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur, propter decanter*, but holy self-sacrificing men, suffering hunger and thirst, fatigue and hardship, to gain immortal souls.

Let us now examine some of the printed sources for a biographical sketch of Father Brassac.

In the *United States Catholic Almanac* are the following entries, all under the Diocese of New Orleans:

1834, Baton Rouge, St. Joseph's, Rev. H. Brassac.
Baton Rouge, W. *twice a month*, Rev. H. Brassac.
Baton Rouge, E. St. John's, Rev. H. Brassac.
1835, 1836, 1837, Donaldsonville, *The Ascension*, Rev. H. Brassac.
1838, Donaldsonville, *The Ascension*, Rev. H. Brassac.

In the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*,[5] the Lazarist Father Tichitoli,[6] describes the celebration which took place

[5] Vol. i, March, 1825, pp. 35*ff*.

[6] Joseph Tichitoli, a subdeacon, embarked with Fathers Andreis and Rosati, Lazarists, at Bordeaux, June 12, 1816, and landed at Baltimore on July 26th. From there the party went to St. Thomas Seminary, Bardstown, and stayed there with Bishop Flaget, until Bishop Du Bourg returned with his party from France. Rev. Father David, later Coadjutor to Bishop Flaget, then Rector of the Seminary, engaged Father Andreis to teach theology. In 1818, Rosati, moved with the whole Seminary, Brassac among them, to the *Barrens* near St. Louis. All this time Father

on March 10, 1824, when Bishop Du Bourg consecrated his auxiliary, Bishop Rosati, in the Church of the Ascension, Donaldsonville, La. Speaking of the priests who participated in these ceremonies, he stated that: "*M. Brassac remplissait les fontions de grand-maitre des cérémonies.*" In Vol. II., p. 386, the same *Annales* contain a letter from Father Brassac, then pastor of Donaldsonville, addressed to Bishop Du Bourg, his Ordinary, and dated Donaldsonville, April 30, 1825. The editor says of it: "Mr. Brassac's letter is a report of the exercises of Holy Week in his parish. The edifying details given prove that the labors of the missionaries are not fruitless and that if these men have their hardships, they also have their consolations." This letter was undoubtedly sent to the *Annales* by Bishop Du Bourg, probably in order to let the Catholics of France see that their contributions to the American missions were not only much needed, but also well applied. The letter is a clear indication of the priestly character and zeal of Father Brassac, as well as an honorable testimony to the great piety of the early Louisiana settlers.

Other interesting notices of Father Brassac are found in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. On page 464, of volume X (1899), there is a letter of Bishop Du Bourg which gives us what is probably the first regular appointment of Father Brassac. It is addressed to Charles Smith, Esq., Opelousas, and reads as follows:

St. Louis, April 29, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

By the first steamboat, the Rev. M. Brassac will go down. He will stop at La Fourche, whence he will take his way thro' St. Martinsville to your house. I have thought best to defer the departure of his lay companion, both to avoid throwing at once on you so much burden and expense, and to give Mr. Brassac time to get acquainted with the localities. I have no doubt he will by his zeal, prudence, meekness, instruction and amiable manner give general satisfaction.

Andreis was Superior of the Lazarist and Vicar General of Louisiana. In his *Life*, p. 201, we find the following: "Father De Andreis hoped that his novices would one day be able to share his numerous duties; but this expectation proved vain. Mr. Tichitoli fell sick, his lungs became so weak, that it was feared he would soon die of consumption. The physicians declared that he would not live long, unless he immediately left the climate of Missouri, where the cold of winter is extreme. It was therefore, judged expedient to send him to a milder region in the southern part of

Enclosed I send the bill of sundry articles for yr. church, as per request. There are a few wanting which I could not spare, such as a ciborium, candlesticks, Processional Cross, altar cloths, censer, cruets, and choir books. He will shift as well as he can, till you are able to procure them. I suppose that in the beginning he will put up at yr. house. I wish however that he be as soon as possible accommodated in his own, in which I forsee he will, at the first onset, be obliged to have recourse to yr. kindness for several indispensable things, such as a horse equipped, a housekeeper, linens, etc. I must rely for all this on your attention and that of Mrs. Smith, to whom I earnestly recommend him, and offer my best respects.

With the highest regard and attachment to you and yr. Brothers,

I remain,

Dr. Sir

Your most hum. servt.

✠ L. Wm., *Bishop of La.*

On page 343, of volume IX (1898), of the *Records*, it is stated that the Rev. Brassac was the first pastor of St. Charles parish of Grand Coteau, from 1819 to 1822. The following documents were translated for the *Records* by the Rev. C. M. Widman, S.J.

Burial of Ch. Smith (1819)

In the year of O. L. 1819, was solemnly buried in the Church of St. Charles Borromeo, on the epistle side near the sanctuary, Charles Smith, born in Frederick County, State of Maryland, in the year 1756, who died suddenly on the first day of April, 1819, on his plantation in Opelousas, State of La. The funeral, attended by an immense multitude of all ranks, was performed by Rev. Flav. H. Rosti, Rector of St. Landry's Church, Opelousas. To the munificence of this respectable gentleman and his pious widow, Mary Sentee, the public is indebted for the elegant church and dependences in the prairie of Grand Coteau. May he enjoy in Heaven that happiness which his exemplary life deserved, and may the memory of their virtues be held in the respect and gratitude of future generations. Solemn funeral services were performed April 1, 1819, by the Rector of St. Charles; on October 23d, 1820, by Rev. F. Isabey, Rector of St. Martinsville, and on March 8, 1823, by the Right Rev. Louis W. Du Bourg, Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas.

Hc. Brassac, Rect. of St. Charles.

Louisiana, and, as he had already completed his entire course of theology, Bishop Du Bourg promoted him to the priesthood, and sent him to Donaldsonville, in 1819, in order that he might exercise the holy ministry under the direction of Rev. Father Joseph Bigeschi, the excellent pastor of that place. In March, 1827, Tichitoli who succeeded Brassac, became rector of Donaldsonville where he died in 1833. He was in turn succeeded by Father Brassac in 1833.

Dedication of St. Charles Church, Grand Coteau, La.

In the year of O. L. 1820, on October 23d, I, Fr. Gabriel Isabey, O.P., Parish priest of St. Martin's Church, in the County of Attakapas, by delegation of the RR. Louis Valentin Du Bourg, Bishop of St. Louis, and with the assistance of the RR. FF. Flavius Rosti and Hercule Brassac, parish priests respectively of St. Landry and St. Charles, in Opelousas County, have blessed the Church of Grand Coteau, and given it the title of St. Charles Borromeo, after the name of the founder of said Church, the late Charles Smith. In testimony whereof, I have subscribed together with the said RR. gentlemen, on the day and in the year as above.

FLAVIUS H. ROSTI, *Rect. of St. Landry.*
HLE. BRASSAC, *Rect. of St. Charles.*
GABR. ISABEY, *as above.*

On the same day after the ceremony, and in virtue of the canonical appointment, by a letter addressed to the Rev. Hle. Brassac by the RR. Bishop, I have introduced the said H. Brassac into possession, real and actual, of the newly erected parish with the usual formalities.

Appointment of the First Pastor

Louis W. Dubourg, by the Mercy of God and the Authority of the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of St. Louis, U. S. A., to all whom it may concern greeting and blessing in Jesus Our Lord.

We grant and confer on our beloved Master (Magister) Herc. Brassac, priest of our diocese, the care of the newly erected Church of St. Charles Borromeo, in the county of Opelousas, State of La., and hereby invest him with all the rights and belongings, under the condition that he reside there permanently and observe the statutes of the diocese.

To this effect we, by the present letter,[7] empower the Rev. F. Gabr. Isabey, Rector of St. Martin's, Attakapas, to place and introduce the said Herc. Brassac into possession, real and actual, of all rights and belongings of said Church, in the usual form.

Given at St. Louis, Mo., under our hand and seal and with the subscription of our Vic. Gen. April 29, 1821.

✠ LOUIS W. DU BOURG, *of St. Louis.*
GABR. ISABEY, *Episcopal Commissary.*

First Pastoral Visit of Bishop Du Bourg

On March 10th, I, the undersigned, Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, have completed the canonical visit of the parish lately established under the name of St. Charles Borromeo, in the locality called Grand Coteau.

[7] Is this the same letter addressed to the Rev. Hle. Brassac by the Right Rev. Bishop mentioned at the end of the foregoing document? If so, the date should be April 29, 1820 (not 1821). If not the same letter, what canonical reason can there have been for ordering a second installation half a year after the first?

County of Opelousas, State of La. The church and presbytery have been built by the late Ch. Smith, a resident of this place, who has added hereunto 80 arpents of prairie and 50 of woodland to provide for the support of the worship, and besides has supplied the necessary vestments, linen and ornamentation not only for the decency, but also for the splendor of the religious rites. The property has been turned over to the Bishop by an act dated (*date wanting*) and signed by the widow and the heirs of the former, who died April 1st, before he could finish the pious work. Happily, his widow, Mrs. Mary S. Smith, has spared neither pains nor expenses to carry out the intentions of her worthy husband . . . . She has added to the bequest of her husband a donation of about 400 arpents, adjoining the church land, to establish a girls' school and is actually engaged in building, inclosing and furnishing a two-story building. She has promised, moreover, to provide for the traveling expenses of 4 nuns, who are to come from France, and to support them for the first year. This institution established in a locality already well-peopled and far distant from any similar institution, promises great advantages for the future and will secure for the pious founders the gratitude of future generations.[8] I have established the boundaries of the new parish as follows . . . I entreat the Rev. Pastor to establish as soon as possible Mission Stations in various localities, where the faithful may from time to time hear Mass and receive instruction. I also recommend him to teach Catechism frequently in these distant places. I have conferred the Sacrament of Confirmation in this church on eighty-three adults, whom I found as well prepared as can be expected under the circumstances . . . These are good beginnings, for which I am happy to express my satisfaction to the Rev. Pastor.

Done in the presbytery of St. Charles, Grand Coteau, etc., on date as above.

✠ *L. C., Ev. de la Louisiana.*
Louis Sibourd, *Vic. Gen.*
Herc. Brassac, *Curé.*
Marcel Borella, *Prêtre.*
Ant. Richefort, *Sec. ad hoc.*

The same *Records* relate Father Brassac's connection with the coming of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur to Cincinnati in 1840. He is also mentioned in the *Erinnerungen aus meinen Leben* by Archbishop Heiss of Milwaukee, who tells us that on his first journey to America as a young priest, he arrived in

[8] The Ladies of the Sacred Heart founded their second American establishment at Grand Coteau, Opelousas, La. They owe it to Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Smith (U. S. C. H. Soc. *Records and Studies*, Vol. ii, 1901, p. 349). Bishop Rosati in a letter of June 7, 1827 (*Annales*, Vol. ii, p. 408) complains that the convent at Grand Coteau had only seven sisters and thirty-five boarders. Twelve years later according to the *Almanac* of 1840, the convent had twenty-one religious and one hundred boarders.

Paris where he found another German priest from Silesia, Rev. Wm. Schonat. Both had been directed by the court chaplain of Munich, Rev. Dr. Mueller, manager of the Ludwig Missions Verein, who is often mentioned in Brassac's letters, to the Abbé Brassac for their transportation. The Abbé was away, but was expected back in a few days. They stopped at a place in the Rue de Fer, where only priests and Catholic laymen were lodged. This may have been later the place of Brassac's American Agency, since some of his letters are dated from that street. Dr. Heiss says: "Towards the end of the month, Abbé Brassac had secured a place for us and for two other missionaries on the steamer, *Ville de Paris*. These two traveling companions were Fathers Garahan and Chalons of Mobile, Alabama, who had journeyed together to Europe. . . . Besides us four priests, there were five other cabin passengers, all of French descent, and therefore Catholics, namely, a young man from New Orleans who had studied at the Collège Henry IV. His parents now lived at Boston. Then a merchant of New Orleans, and lastly a lawyer from the same place by the name of Soulier, with his wife and a maid.[9] They sailed from Havre on November 3, 1842."

From Baunard's *Life of Madame Duchesne*, the following items have been gathered:

> On August 25, 1821, Madame Eugenie Audé and Sister Mary Layton arrived at St. Charles on the Grand Coteau to establish there a foundation of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. They found there "Mr. Brassac, the Curé, who also served the parish of Alexandria, 80 miles further north, those of St. Martinsville and Vermillionville to the South, and of Bayou Chicot to the West." A short time after Madame Audé was attacked by a dangerous fever and felt her death approaching. So she asked Rev. Brassac to bring her Holy Communion, confident that the Lord would cure her. The fever left the same day and the next day she was as strong as before her illness.
>
> During the sickness of Madame Audé, Madame Duchesne, the provincial superior, wrote to Brassac from Fleurissant, Mo., and received from him comforting assurances. When troubles of various kinds arose, the Sisters found a faithful help and protector in Rev. Brassac. Another time he writes to Madame Duchesne: "Mrs. Smith appreciates fully the treasure for which she is indebted to your foresight, and her most ardent prayers are addressed to Heaven for a blessing on

[9] See Brassac's letters of October 26th and November 26, 1842, on pp. 466-467 of this issue.

the works and plans of your dear Sister. The parents of the children under her care are all unanimous in their expressions of satisfaction, and I have no doubt the school will succeed admirably. There have been difficulties at first, and there may be still some to overcome. But was there ever an undertaking for the glory of God which did not meet with obstacles?"

The very latest reference to Father Brassac is to be found in that fine work, the *History of Mother Seton's Daughters*, by Sister Mary Agnes McCann, where two letters of Father Brassac to Bishop Purcell are given in full.[10]

Having so far gathered notices of Father Brassac from the printed records in our possession, we will now examine some interesting data from manuscript sources. For these I am deeply obliged and grateful to my kind correspondents, the Very Rev. F. L. Gassler, Vicar General of New Orleans, the Rev. Dr. Souvay, C.M., Professor at Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., and Rev. Charles van Tourenhout, Rector of St. Genevieve, Mo.

Father Gassler has compiled the following notes from a list of priests written by Bishop Blanc of New Orleans, some eighty years ago.

Rev. Hercule Brassac came to America with Bishop Du Bourg and formed part of the company of twenty-two priests, three brothers, and six Flemish young men who left France on July 1, 1817. By order of King Louis XVIII, they were given free transportation on the government vessel *La Caravane*. The party arrived at Annapolis on the 4th of September. However, due to lack of transportation, they could not resume their journey until November. They passed through Kentucky, and in the first days of December they arrived at Bishop Flaget's place of residence (which is not given in Blanc's account of the journey, but which must have been Bardstown).[11] I find the first mention of Brassac's name as Curé of the parish of St. James, Cantirel, as follows: "Paroisse St. Jacques, Curé M. Brassac."[12] St. Jacques is situated now, as in Brassac's time, on the west bank of the Mississippi, about 50 miles from New Orleans.

In 1820, we find him as Curé de St. Charles, Opelousas. From 1823 to 1826, he was Rector of Donaldsonville, Paroisse de l'Ascension, where his name appears as "Curé, le Rev. H. Brassac." From 1832 to 1833, he was at St. Joseph's, Baton Rouge.

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[10] Vol. i, pp. 285*ff*. New York, 1917.

[11] This conjecture corresponds with two reports of Du Bourg's journey as printed in the *Annales*, Vol. i, No, 1, (1821), p. 22*ff*, and Vol. ii, pp. 333*ff*.

[12] This ought to be 1819. Brassac may have resided at St. Jacques until he was installed at St. Charles, Grand Coteau, in October, 1820.

In my private notes taken there in 1912, I find that Brassac's first entry in the baptismal records appears on March 19, 1832, and his last entry August 15, 1833. However, he never signed as Rector of Baton Rouge, but as Curé de l' Ascension. This may be explained by the circumstance that Brassac was again Rector of Donaldsonville from March, 1833 to 1837. In Bishop Blanc's list there finally appears on the margin the remark: "Brassac parti en avril 1837." I came across his name again when he is mentioned as one of the priests who assisted at Bishop's Blanc's consecration November 22, 1835, at New Orleans.

Rev. Dr. Souvay furnishes many valuable notes by Bishop Rosati, from which the following are selected:

Here is, in the first place, a note written in Bishop Rosati's own hand, possibly about 1824-25. "Hercule Brassac né à . . . . [13]dans le Diocèse de Mende en France, parti de Bordeaux pour l' Amérique avec Mgr. Du Bourg le 17 Juin 1817. Arriva à S. Thomas au Kentuky dans le mois de Decembre de la même année, y etudis la Theologie sous Mr. Rosati; il avait été minoré, et ordonné soudiacre à Baltimore. Il parti du Kentuky avec les autres et se rendit aux Barrens où il fut ordonné Diacre; il en parti pour S. Genevieve, où il fut ordonné prêtre.[14] Apres avoir demeuré quelque temps dans l'état des Illinois,[15] à 8 milles de Harrisonville, où il commenca à exercer le ministère, il fut envoyé aux Oppelouses, Curé."

In Rosati's *Diary* are the following entries concerning Father Brassac:

1824.

Mart. 9 Postridie ad multam noctem navim reliqui et prope Donnaldsonem ad terram applicavi. Ibi a D. Brassac hospitio exceptus biduum.
11 egi. . . . et ab eodem D. Brassac comitatus ad episcopum perrexi, quem apud nepotem novem ad Ascensionis Ecclesiae Milliariis ad sinistram fluminis, Neo-Aurelia revertentem excepimus. Ibidem ejus societate et colloquiis biduo fru-
13 itus, et ab eo comitatus Donnaldsonem reversus sum. Sequenti die, divino officio persoluto,
14 a Domino Brassac ad Assumptionis parochiam

[13] In all probability Marvéjols of the Diocese of Mende in the Department of Lozère in Southern France, of which Mende is the capital. It is a small town of 5,000 inhabitants situated on the River Colagne, about 12 miles from Mende, with some industries and tanneries. A number of Brassac's letters are written from Marvéjols, the home of his father.

[14] On November 1, 1818.

[15] It is strange that Bishop Du Bourg of St. Louis should send Brassac into Illinois, which then belonged to the Diocese of Vincennes; but this may be explained in the *Annales*, Vol. i, No. 2, p. 40, where a footnote says that the Illinois missions, being too remote from Bardstown, were administered by Bishop Du Bourg then residing at St. Louis which was so much nearer these missions. See also CLARKE, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops*, Vol. i, p. 224.

deductus fui, et D. Bigeschi Parochi hospitio usus, apud eum sacro secessui vacavi per aliquot dies.

Rosati's consecration took place in Father Brassac's church on March 25th; the place and date had been assigned by Bishop Du Bourg as most convenient for the priests. A few days later, we find the following entries:

30 Iter suscepi D. Cellini,[16] qui in parochia S. Caroli Oppelousas morabatur, invisendi gratia, R. D. Brassac comite. Prandimus apud D. Narcissum Landri, et coenavimus apud Theodorum Zachariam.

31 Sequenti die in Diversorio Desabris ad Plaqueminam prandimus. Vespere autem ad navim prevenimus. Noctem in diversorio

April 1 egimus. Postridie navim conscendimus, et aquas omnes quae Accatapas ab inferiori parte Luisianae dividunt transfretavimus. Igitur hora post meridiem quarta, navi relicta, equos ascendimus et reliquum itineris quatuor horis confecimus. Nam hora octava, ad Viduam Smith pervenimus. Ibi caenantes reperimus D. Cellini, et Rossi, quos amplexatus, ad caenam cum ipsis recubui.

A few days later Bishop Rosati went to New Orleans, and on his way back from there stopped again at Donaldsonville.

Maii 1 Sub vesperam Donnaldsonen perveni.

2 Missa in Ecclesia Ascensionis.
Sacro peracto, fluvium cum D. Brassae trajeci, et vespere ad D. Bringier.

The next items of information furnished by the *Diary* are mere mentions of letters received from, or written to, Father Brassac:

Julii 29 Litteras D. Brassac tradendas dedi (to Father De Neckere and Potini, who were leaving for Louisiana).

Sept. 14 Litteras scripsi ad Illm. et Revmum. Emp. Neo-Aurel. . . . ut illum rogarem ut huic regioni prospiceret, et D. Brassac remmitteret.

1823.

Mart. 21 Litteras accepi. . . . D. Brassac.

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[16] The Rev. V. F. Cellini had been a practicing physician at Rome, Italy, and later became a priest. He resigned the benefice he had there and came to America where he entered the novitiate of the Lazarists under Father Andreis on the eve of Epiphany, 1819. He devoted all his years to the Diocese of St. Louis. Bishop Kenrick in November, 1846, made him his Vicar General. Cellini died in St. Louis, January 6, 1849.

Nov. 8 Scripsi ad D. Brassac.
Nov. 27 Scripsi ad D. Brassac.

On June 26, 1826, Bishop Rosati came to Donaldsonville, "ubi a D. De Angelis excepti . . . " The *Diary* makes no mention of Father Brassac. The Episcopal Visitation of the Diocese of New Orleans was made from December, 1827, to April, 1828. The *Diary* mentions the names of the pastors and assistants in every place; but nowhere does the name of Father Brassac appear.

From the minutes of the deliberation of the Board of Trustees of the Parish of the Ascension, Donaldsonville, La., the following facts are gleaned:

a. After the death of Father Tichitoli, C.M., Pastor of that parish from 1827 to 1833, the parish was administered by Father Beauprez from March 1 to August 15, 1833.

b. On September 3, 1833, an inventory was taken of all things belonging to the Rectory; this inventory is signed by "H. Brassac, Curé."

c. On April 25, 1837, the Board of Trustees audited and approved the accounts of Father Brassac's administration, and added to the minutes the following entry:

> Resolu à l'unanimité par les Marguilliers séculiers, tous présents, que nous approuvons l'administration de notre Eglise, par notre Curé le Reverend Hercule Brassac, pendant tout le temps qu'il l'a desservie, que sa conduite a toujours été la plus exemplaire, qu'il a tous droits possibles à notre estime et à notre respect, et qu'il emporte, en nous laissant, nos regrets les plus sincères.
>
> Edward Duffel, P. J. Dannequin,
> Alexandre Braud, E. Gaudin,
> Narcisse Landry, Joseph Blanchard.

d. The next entry is also worth recording here. A note in the margin of the book, written by a later hand, gives the date March 24, 1838.

> Nous les Marguilliers, nous étant constitués en assemblée, delibérons comme suit
> Il est résolu, et il nous est agréable de transcrire sur le registre de nos déliberations, la lettre pleine d'amour et d'affection, que nous adressa le Rev[d] Curé Hercule Brassac à moment de son départ; et c'est avec la plus haute consideration que nous lui donnons place dans notre journal.
>
> Nouvel Orléans le 30 Avril 1836.
>
> Messieurs les Marguilliers
> de L'Eglise de L'Ascension.
> Messieurs,
>
> Au moment de ma pénible séparation d'avec vous, je me trouvois trop oppressé pour pouvoir vous exprimer les

sentiments qui agitaient mon âme, et qui ont gravé dans mon coeur d'une manière ineffaçable le souvenir de cet instant si douloureux pour moi. Non! je n'oublierai jamais, la douce et génereuse Cooperation que j'ai trouvé en vous pendant le temps que j'ai été chargé de l'administration de votre excellente paroisse, et de l'indulgence que vous avez montré pour moi dans toutes les occasions. C'est pour moi je vous assure, Messieurs, une consolation bien grande et que je dois specialement à votre generosite, de penser que pendant tout le temps que j'ai été Curé de l'Ascension il n'y a eu entre nous, aucune aigreur, aucune pique et qu'au contraire il a toujours existé entre nous, une harmonie et un Concert de mesures et d'actions, auquel nous devons d'avoir retiré l'Eglise de dettes immenses qui l'accablaient il y a quelques années, et qui a été cause du peu de bien que mon ministère a pu causer parmi le troupeau des fideles de l'Ascension. Je vous prie Messieurs de recevoir ici, le juste tribut de mon estime et de mon admiration pour le zèle, désinteressé et fervent que vous avez toujours deployé pour le bien et la prosperité de l'Eglise confiée a votre sollicitude, aussi bien que pour la pureté d'intention qui vous a guidé dans toutes vos démarches et vos résolutions officielles; permettez moi d'y ajouter encore celui de ma reconnaissance profonde et bien sincère pour toutes les bontés que vous m'avez prodigué individuellement et collectivement et avec laquelle je suis et serai toujours très respectueusement.

Messieurs, Votre tres humble obéissant serviteur
et ami bien sincère
(Signé) Hle. Brassac
Ancien Curé de l'Ascension.

Messrs: Narcisse Landry
Edward Duffel
Joseph Blanchard
Alexandre Braud
Edouard Gaudin
P. G. Dannequin
Marguilliers de l'Ascension

Pour copie conforme
P. G. Dannequin,
Secret

Dr. Souvay has in his keeping seventeen letters from Father Brassac written to his friend Rosati. Some of these give such a full picture of Brassac's priestly character, that I give them in full, while from others interesting extracts will be culled, in another part of this present issue of the *Review*.

Father van Tourenhaot, Rector of Ste. Genevieve, writes:

"I have found some traces of Father Hercule Brassac. He performed three baptisms in Ste. Genevieve, during the month of November, 1818. His name is not found in the marriage register nor in the book of the *enterrements*. For curiosity sake I send you a copy of his first three baptisms. I consulted the baptismal registers of the parish of Kaskaskia, which are kept in the Jesuit College in St. Louis. He was at Kaskaskia from April or May, 1822, until April, 1823.[17] During this time he administered baptism to twenty-five children. For his first baptism he omitted the date of the month; the second was in August, 1822. Here are the three interesting records; the last of a slave:

Le sept Novembre, mil huit cent dix huit, nous prêtre soussigné avons baptizé Marie Eloise, née le trente Octobre du légitime marriage de Baptiste, marraine Marie Eloise Dequire.
Aucun n'a su signer. Hle. Brassac,
Prêtre.

Le huit Novembre, mil huit cent dix huit, nous prêtre soussigné avons baptizé Louis Sauveur, né le trois du mois ci-dessus du legitime marriage de Jean Bequette et de Louis Henry-Parrain: Henry Pratte; marraine: Eulalie Pratte, qui ont signe avec moi.
Hle. Brassac,
Prêtre.

Le huit Novembre, mil huit cent dix huit, nous prêtre soussigné avons baptizé Emelie, esclave à M. Bogy-Parrain-André, mulatre; marraine Marie Madeline, negresse, qui n'ont su signer,
Hle. Brassac.
Prêtre.

From the data thus far furnished by these valuable sources, we can easily follow Brassac's activities from his ordination in the year 1818 until 1826. For a short time in the winter of 1818, he exercised the ministry in the neighborhood of St. Louis. But in May, 1819, he left for Louisiana. According to Bishop Blanc's notes he took charge of the Church of St. Jacques. But in his letter to Father Rosati, June 20, 1820, he states that he came to

[17] Monsignor Tannrath, the present Chancellor of St. Louis, states that in 1822 Rev. Hercules Brassock (*viz.* Brassac) was at Drury, Ill. (*Cath. Encycl.* xiii, p. 359.) Drury was the name of a family. This is evident from an entry in Rosati's *Diary*: 1824. September 23d. Ex Prairie (du Rocher) ad D. Drury iter fecimus; apud hunc prandimus. . . Vespere ad D. James pervenimus quarto ab Harrisonville milliario. This is the same Drury whom Brassac mentioned six years before in his letter to Father Rosati, November 15, 1818. If Brassac resided at Drury's, it must have been before he went to Kaskaskia. Did he visit it as a mission from Kaskaskia? According to the list of the early priests officiating at this place, given to the *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. iv (1891), p. 43, Brassac was there from 1822 to 1824 and was succeeded by Father Cellini, as mentioned above.

St. Charles, Opelousas, on June 1, 1819. He was pastor there till the spring of 1822. For, as Rev. A. M. Fontan, S.J., pastor of St. Charles, writes to me: "His signature appears on the Baptismal Register under date of May 15, 1822, for the last time, appended to a document drawn up by the bishop who had come to change the parish limits in view of erecting the new parish of St. John's, Vermillion. Said document reads thus: 'En foi de quoi J'ai signé en presence du Rev. Abbé Brassac, ci-devant curé de St. Charles, et du Rév. S. Valezano, curé actuel.'

L. G., *Ev. de Louisiane.*
S. Valezano, *Curé.*
H. Brassac, *Missionary.*'"

From St. Charles, Brassac must have returned to Missouri, going to Kaskaskia, where he remained until April, 1823. At this time business called him back to Opelousas. It is a question whether he returned to Missouri or stayed in Louisiana. In a letter to Father Rosati, dated Pointe Coupée, La., July 23, 1823, Rev. A. Blanc (later Archbishop of New Orleans) says that he had written to his brother, J. B. Blanc, rector of Natchitochez, who had asked him for help, "apply to my friends, among them Rev. Brassac, who was then in your neighborhood, and who has several times promised to help." Towards the end of 1823 Brassac was sent to Donaldsonville, as appears from the notes of Bishop Blanc and from a letter of Father Janvier, dated Donaldsonville, November 11, 1823, where he states that there is $147 due to the seminary which sum is to be collected from the people. "Some, probably, will give something; others nothing at all, others will promise to pay after the harvest. But as I shall leave this parish to get some rest, as the Bishop of New Orleans says, it will be impossible for me to pay that money. But if you write to Mr. Brassac, who is to replace me here, that he should take care of the matter, I believe you will do very well." Unfortunately, the good man proved a false prophet, as we know from Brassac's letter of January 26, 1824. Brassac was at Donaldsonville until 1826, when he disappears from us without further notice. But the trustees of the Ascension Church at Donaldsonville told us a little while ago that he was back there again in 1833 and remained with them until 1837.

Where did he spend the six years between 1826 and 1832? From the total absence of all trace so far in American records, printed or unprinted, I am inclined to think that Brassac spent all this time in France caring for his old father and his sister. It is true, the request, above mentioned, made by Rosati in September, 1824, that Bishop Du Bourg sent Father Brassac back to the St. Louis district, may have been granted.[18] But if so, why is no mention of Brassac to be found in the parish records of that time and territory? My surmise is confirmed by the following item from the Archives of the Propaganda at Rome, furnished me by Rev. Dr. Souvay:

> Parisiis (in Gallia) die 15 Novembris 1826. Litt. ad Secret. S. Cong. de Prop. Fide; postulat ut Revdo Herculi Brassac sit permissum visitare suum patrem senem qui morte perdidit uxorem et 10 liberos.
>
> Auct. ✠ L. Guil. (Du Bourg), *Ev. de Montauban.*

From this it would appear that Bishop Du Bourg asked for a leave of absence for Father Brassac, which Rome undoubtedly granted. The next question then arises: When and from where did Brassac sail for France? From Bishop Rosati's *Diary*, it is plain that in the summer of 1826 Brassac was no longer at Donaldsonville. In November of the same year, Bishop Du Bourg, then already at Montauban, a suffragan See of Toulouse, asked Rome for a leave of absence for Brassac, now no longer his ecclesiastical subject. It is hard to explain this canonical anomaly. I strongly suspect that Brassac had come with Du Bourg in 1817, and again had accompanied him when this apostolic prelate, whom he always considered his spiritual father, left New Orleans for France sailing from New York on June 1, 1826. Du Bourg was still Bishop of New Orleans at the time, and might take any one of his priests with him as traveling companion. But when his resignation of the See of New Orleans was accepted and when he was appointed Bishop of Montauban

[18] The reason why Bishop Rosati would apply to Bishop Du Bourg for the loan of Brassac, is found in a letter of Father Odin, dated August 2, 1823, and published in the *Annales*, Vol. i, No. 5, p. 72, where he complains that: "Bishop Du Bourg sends nearly all his priests to Lower Louisiana. It is sad to see how many congregations are abandoned in Upper Louisiana. We are only six priests in all Upper Louisiana. . . . Natches, New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Kaskaskias, St. Michel, the Portage, St. Charles and many small places are entirely given up. . . . We had the misfortune of seeing several missionaries return to Europe. Their departure leaves a great void in our missions."

in October, 1826, never to return to America again, then Brassac, not knowing what would be the future developments of the Diocese of New Orleans, St. Louis having at this same time been made a separate See with Rosati as bishop, might well have conceived the idea of spending a longer time in France. What more natural than to ask his former bishop to get him from Rome the needed leave of absence?[19]

Brassac did not intend to stay in Europe longer than one year. From a letter of Rev. A. Blanc to Bishop Rosati, then Administrator of New Orleans, dated June 11, 1827, we learn that the people of Donaldsonville expected Brassac to return soon. He says that the people at Donaldsonville wish to see Brassac back in their parish; but he fears, "that, as Rev. Tichitoli may not willingly give up the place, there may be trouble, much against Brassac's intentions." Brassac himself in a letter written to Bishop Rosati from Baton Rouge, June 25, 1832, speaks of a misunderstanding on the part of Rosati caused by Msgr. Du Bourg, who has forgotten to notify Rosati that he had given Brassac a leave of absence in France "per 12 menses." He says that he arrived in France on July 18, 1826, and intended to leave again in June next "as you could see from the letter of farewell sent me by my father." From this we may infer that Brassac had actually taken farewell of his father and sister to return to America. What the causes were that changed his mind and made him remain in France for fully five years more, we do not know. But as is evident from his letters, he did return in the autumn of 1831. In January, 1832, he left Louisville for Louisiana where we find him again at Baton Rouge. A. Blanc, on April 23, 1832, writes to Bishop Rosati from New Orleans: "L'abbé Lethorte is at Pointe Coupée, who succeeded me at Baton Rouge, and is himself replaced by Mr. Brassac. Both are doing very well, till now (*sic*) at their new posts." But on July 5, 1833, the same Rev. Blanc writes to Rosati, again from New Orleans. "Brassac must go back to his old parish," namely,

[19] It is fairly probable from internal evidence that Brassac during his stay in France wrote the report on the Dioceses of New Orleans and St. Louis printed in the *Annales*, Vol. iii, (September, 1829), pp. 491*ff*. of which the editor says that it was "furnished by a Louisiana missionary who made a journey to France"? The letter printed *Ibid.*, p. 591 and dated from "Etat du Missouri, September, 1831," and signed "B. . . Miss. Ap.," was written by Rev. John Bouillier.

Donaldsonville. The change must have taken place late in 1833, since the *Catholic Almanac* of 1834 still places Brassac at Baton Rouge. Or were the episcopal chancellors at that early time as late in reporting to the *Catholic Directory* as some of them are now, a hundred years later?

Four years later (1837) Brassac left the American missions and sailed to Europe never to return. What were the reasons? From his letters to his intimate friend, Bishop Rosati, we infer that he feared eventually to get into difficulties with Bishop Blanc, who had always been his friend. So he preferred to leave. But why did he not join St. Louis, where Rosati was bishop? Perhaps out of a delicate consideration for Bishop Blanc. Or did he imagine that in France he might be able to do more for his beloved episcopal friends and their missions in America? Or was it the voice of filial love that called him back to help his old father and his lonely sister? Perhaps all these considerations did work together towards determining his action in returning to France.

For his second journey to Europe Brassac must have left Louisiana in the summer of 1837. His letter to the trustees of Donaldsonville is written from New Orleans, where he probably went to take leave of Bishop Blanc, his Ordinary and friend. He did not embark at New Orleans. It is likely that he went to see his friends at Cincinnati, where he had so many acquaintances, and where he had stopped on his return from Europe six years before. One thing seems certain; he did not wait for Bishop Purcell, who left Cincinnati for Europe in May, 1838, and sailed from New York on June 16. The *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati, for August 23, states among its news that on the New York and Liverpool packet *South America*, Miss Mary Hall, a native of Dublin, died on June 28, fortified by the sacraments of Penace and Extreme Unction, and that Bishop Purcell officiated at her funeral at sea, assisted by the Rev. Messrs. Kenrick, McGill and Vandeweyer. Had Brassac been with them, his name would have been mentioned. One might be inclined to think that Father Brassac accompanied Bishop Blanc from New Orleans, who was expected to stop at Cincinnati on his way to the Third Provincial Council of Baltimore, after Easter, 1837. But Bishop Blanc was present when that Council opened on

April 13, while Brassac was still at New Orleans on April 30. Whether he went to Cincinnati or not, he certainly was in New York by the middle of July. In a letter to Miss M. Reilly, then at St. Joseph's, Emmitsburg, Bishop Purcell writes on July 13, 1837: "I wrote to Mr. Brassac to New York and informed him of your intention to visit Europe. It is possible that he will not sail before the middle of the month or the first of next. I requested him in these latter cases to write to you."

Bishop Purcell landed at Liverpool early in July, 1838, and went to Ireland. After spending some time there, he went to Belgium and thence to France, where he was joined by Father Brassac. On September 12, 1838, Bishop Purcell writes from Paris to Miss Marianne Reilly of Cincinnati: "Mr. Brassac who begs kind and respectful remembrances to yourself and Anna, was with me," when the Bishop visited the Misses Hunter of New York, two converts, who were then at Paris on their way to Rome. Brassac then accompanied the Bishop on his journey through Germany, Austria and Italy. The statement is in the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, that both were in Vienna in December, 1838. In its issue of April 4, 1839, the *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati has a letter from Bishop Purcell describing his journey from Vienna to Bologna in Italy. The letter is dated Bologna, June 20, 1839. There we read: "Mr. Brassac having been seized with a severe attack of rheumatism and a heavy cold, was obliged to keep to his bed for the first day of our sojourn in Venice, and I went alone to the Palace of the Doge." The report of Bishop Purcell's travels in Europe, of his visits in Rome, and of his activities in Paris, where he confirmed repeatedly for the Archbishop, was published in the *Ami de la Religion* and from there copied by the *Catholic Telegraph*, on August 12, 1839. It was apparently written by the bishop's faithful companion, Brassac. Having returned to France, they again visited Belgium. It was on this trip that Bishop Purcell went to the mother-house of the Sisters of Notre Dame at Namur "accompanied by Rev. F. Brassac, his former vicar-general."[20]

After his return to America, Bishop Purcell failed to secure

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[20] This adjective "former" is misleading, since it suggests the idea that Brassac had been Purcell's Vicar General in Cincinnati, which is not the case.

the services of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, and Brassac advised him to apply for the Sisters of Namur, to which the Bishop agreed, authorizing Brassac to engage the Sisters for Cincinnati.[21] Brassac's letter to Mother Ignace at Namur is given in the *Records*,[22] also Purcell's letter to the Bishop of Namur on the same affair. The story of the Sisters' departure for America and the beginnings of their mission at Cincinnati have also been very interestingly told.[23] Brassac assisted them in every way. His vivid account of their embarking in September, 1840 is so characteristic of his amiable and charitable nature and pious disposition, that I cannot resist the temptation of copying here some portions given in the *Records* (*l. c.*, pp. 323 ff). He writes to Mother Ignace as follows:

> We have just left the shore, with the tide; our dear daughters (for they are also, in some manner mine, since they are those of the good bishop) have taken possession of their floating house with the calmness and intrepidity of true missionaries. A few moments and we were all on our knees, in a little room, prostrate before the Crucifix and invoking, through the intercession of Her who is truly called, "The Star of the Sea," the protection of Him who commands the winds and the waves. Our hearts were, I assure you, in accordance with our voices, in begging a blessing on our admirable missionaries. They did not leave the harbor until the next morning at low tide. All has gone on admirably, and we have only to bless the Lord for the benediction and graces that He has granted us. Mr. and Mrs. Borée have been admirable to the end, displaying great generosity and an indefatigable complacency.
>
> I have written today to Bishop Purcell to apprise him of all this, and I have written to F. Rappe, both for himself and the Sisters letters which

[21] See Brassac's letters of October 20, 1839; March 10, April 8 and July 7, 1840, on pp. 456–459.

[22] Vol. xi (1900), p. 321.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 323-27. This article on the *Foundation of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in America* naturally suggests the idea that a splendid contribution to the history of the Catholic Church in the United States would be given, if our Sisterhoods especially the older ones, favored the *Catholic Historical Review* with a documentary story of their foundations in our land. Think of the early history here of the Benedictine, Dominican, Franciscan, Ursuline, Vincentian and Visitation Nuns; the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, of St. Joseph, of the Good Shepherd, of Mercy, and of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, not forgetting the Oblates of Providence, and others devoted especially to the moral and religious interests of the colored race. What most interesting and edifying pages might thus be culled from abundant sources undoubtedly hidden away in American and European convents. Our Catholic literature shows that there are fine historic writers among our Sisters. Let them start the good work without delay before precious memories have passed away.

will be useful to them in New York. We have done all in our power to insure the happiness and well-being of those dear children, so we may remain tranquil and feel sure that Providence will supply whatever is wanting to them. . . .

As the wind was calm, in the afternoon, about four o'clock, the pilot at last decided to weigh anchor, and the vessel is abandoned to wind and waves, but above all to Divine Providence, whose arm is not shortened on the broad sea. The Bishop of Ghent was on the shore at the moment of the vessel's departure, and our dear daughters having received his blessing, he remained but a few moments. After this we were alone with our chaplain and our good Father French—we withdrew to a retired part of the deck, where we fell on our knees, and turning towards the tower of Notre Dame, recited the *Veni Creator* and the *Sub Tuum*, then we sang with great feeling the verses of the Canticle: *Je mets ma confiance* . . . In the few words which I addressed to the Sisters, I chose for my text the last words of the hymn: *I would offer my life to gain a soul for God*, and then I gave them my blessing. I have given it, come what may. I bade them a last adieu and I turned my face towards Antwerp, which was a league distant. I followed them with my eyes until the masts were but a speck on the horizon. . . .

Yesterday evening I returned to the ship and presided at the general supper. I chose the places that I thought most convenient for the Sisters and Rev. F. Rappe, leaving the others to arrange themselves as as they pleased; it was late when I left. This morning at half past five I returned to those worthy children and we conversed until the afternoon, on subjects from which we could derive spiritual advantage. These dear children had already commenced to work, some were sewing and knitting, others writing and drawing, others again studying, everyone of them calm and peaceful, showing neither enthusiasm nor discouragement. I envied that purity of conscience, that sublimity of sentiment and simplicity of manner so characteristic of those heroines of Faith. God will bless them, do not doubt it, my dear mother, and these blessings will reflect upon you and your worthy counsellors. God will not fail to recompense and protect these young persons so devoted and so generous in His service. I have learned to appreciate the hidden treasures concealed in those eight souls whom Providence has so mercifully chosen for the diocese of my friend, and I thank God for having made me instrumental in bringing about the departure of a colony that inspires me with such ardent hopes. . . .

Bishop Purcell left France in June to return to America, as we learn in one of Father Brassac's letters, written on June 4, 1839.

This is the first letter of a series of some forty letters written by Father Brassac from France to Bishop Purcell in Cincinnati,

covering a space of twenty-two years from 1839 to 1861. Through the kind services of Archbishop Moeller and the skilled assistance of Sister Mary Agnes, of Mt. St. Joseph, in Cincinnati, the historian of her order, and the jealous guardian of these Archives, I am enabled to furnish a number of extracts full of interest and replete with personal and historical items about American and European prelates, the travels of American bishops in Europe, the departure of new missionaries for America, political news, etc. But the main contents are the business transactions of Brassac for Bishop Purcell, especially his endeavors to get large allowances for the Cincinnati Diocese from the Paris Council of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith. In some of these letters Brassac signs himself as "Vicar General of Cincinnati and Nashville." From these letters we can easily form an idea of the man and of his life after his return to France. An alert missionary, still devoting his time and labor to the American mission which he dearly loves; a zealous priest, helping wherever he can in the sacred ministry by preaching and hearing confessions; a pious servant of God, willing at all times to give his best services for the good of the Church wherever they would be required, Brassac appears at the same time to be an enterprising business man, securing whatever help he possibly can for the missions; a loving son to his aged and sickly father and a tender brother to his sister; a true and loving friend to the zealous and energetic bishop of Cincinnati. From these letters we also infer that he must have had a very wide acquaintance with American bishops, priests and laymen. Brassac was well acquainted with Bishops Flaget, Eccleston, Kenrick, Blanc, Portier, Miles, Chanche, Rese, Rappe and de Goesbriand, and with Rev. Deluol, Superior of St. Mary's, Baltimore and his colleague, the Rev. H. Joubert. Brassac usually sends greetings to Rev. Messrs. Collins and Henni, Mr. and Mrs. Springer, the Misses Reilly, the Sisters of Charity, but particularly to Edward, Bishop Purcell's brother, showing that he was well acquainted in Cincinnati. Very often he sends "hearty compliments to our friends, Lamy, Machebeuf, Gacon, Cheymal, Navaron, Clevetti, Manuel and Father Huber." He nearly always sends greetings from his father and sister and from Dr. Nee and family. It is particularly interesting to learn from these letters that Bishop

Purcell proposed Brassac for the Episcopal See of Natchez in 1840; that Bishop Rosati wished Brassac to go with him to the Island of Hayti and San Domingo; that Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia appointed him his agent in 1840; that Bishop Miles wished Brassac to accompany him to Belgium that same year; and that Brassac was proposed as papal commissary to San Domingo in 1842.

Encouraged by Bishops Rosati, Miles, Portier and Purcell, Father Brassac submitted to the American hierarchy in the summer of 1840, a prospectus for a General Agency in Paris for the transaction of all kinds of American ecclesiastical affairs in Europe. It was established the next year and from May 4, 1841 until November 3, 1842, Brassac's letters bear the following heading: *Agence Ecclésiastique du Clergé Catholique des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.*

The prospectus is a valuable document for the student of the early Catholic American Church History. I give here an English translation of the French original which is in the Mount Saint Joseph Archives. It is accompanied by a letter from Brassac, dated Paris, July 30, 1840.

> The need of an Ecclesiastical Agency established in Paris and devoted entirely to the interests of the episcopate and the clergy of the United States has been felt for a long time and yet an establishment of this kind is still wanting.
>
> The undersigned, after having consulted persons of experience, has decided to attempt the enterprise, provided that his plan obtains the approval and encouragement of the archbishops and bishops of the United States, as it has already received it from Bishops Rosati, Portier and Miles. Here is what he has the honor of proposing:
>
> I. The undersigned will act as representative before the Council of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith for the Right Reverend American prelates, who will thus authorize him for the purpose, to explain the needs of the dioceses, to defend their interests, to solicit assistance, to receive the sums allowed and send them to their destination by the surest means and with the shortest delay.
>
> Nearly all the different missions of the world have with the Association a representative in the superiors of the Seminary of the Foreign missions, of the Lazarists, the Jesuits, and the House of Picpus, etc. Those of the United States are almost the only ones which are not officially represented and from this may come the difference in the allocations. In as much as the directors of the Association have no other information about the missions than the letters of the Bishops, which

are often read a long time before the sessions where the allowances are made, the demand made and the considerations to support them are likely to be forgotten, while a few remarks made verbally at that very moment might exert a very happy influence.

The funds allowed to the dioceses of the United States often remain a considerable time in the treasury of the Association. The time necessary to notify the interested parties of these allocations, the sending thereof or possibly the negotiation as to the manner and terms of payments which often follow long after the time when the matter has been presented, cause delays that could to a great extent be avoided by the proposed Agency.

II. Priests in Europe often obtain from their bishops an *exeat* gladly given in order to get rid of them; they arrive in America and the Ordinaries of the place where they present themselves for the missions, have no means of assuring themselves at once of their past conduct and their capabilities. Others again, led undoubtedly by good motives, but having had none to judge their vocations other than persons ignorant of the customs and ways of the United States, find themselves disappointed and unable to do much good. The undersigned will take it upon himself to obtain all possible information about the candidates who present themselves for America. He will try to learn of their character, their talents and their aptitude. As he knows a great number of the Dioceses of France, Belgium, and even Germany and Italy, and as he moreover exercised the holy ministry in the United States for nearly twenty years, he would be better able than many others to judge, with less chances of being mistaken, those who would be fitted for this kind of a mission. He could also provide for their embarkation according to the orders of the bishops.

III. In compliance with the wishes of prelates to obtain the establishment of religious orders of women, the undersigned will attempt to procure them and to attend to everything necessary for their voyage.

IV. The undersigned would also take care of the buying of books, ornaments, sacred vessels, paintings, engravings and lithographs, and Church furniture, also subscriptions to papers and magazines, and in general, of everything that would be recommended to him. He would give his personal attention to these matters, profiting by the assistance of merchants and manufacturers; he would spare no pains in obtaining the most advantageous terms at all times.

V. The undersigned promises to the archbishops and bishops that he will justify their confidence by constant zeal and absolute discretion in the matters entrusted to him.

VI. The undersigned would ask of each of the bishops and archbishops who would honor him with their confidence the sum of $50.00 (250 francs) as compensation for his services and would pledge himself not to charge any further commissions for the business he would have to do; at least where he would not himself be obliged to pay interest in procuring the drafts for the transmission of moneys.

VII. In cases where the undersigned would be obliged to advance moneys, he would charge at the rate of 5 per cent interest annually and 1 per cent commission on the sum advanced.

VIII. The undersigned will also charge himself to fill the orders given him by colleges, convents, religious institutions and the clergy at large for a reasonable commission according to the importance of the demand; but those orders must be sent to him through the hands of the bishops, or otherwise the money must be sent in advance by draft or otherwise.

IX. The undersigned will give to the archbishops and bishops who desire it, a guarantee for the faithful administration of their funds.

The undersigned feels it his duty to impress upon the archbishops and bishops of the United States that his enterprise is not a money speculation, but simply a work which he believes to be most advantageous for the country that he considers as a second Fatherland.

Bishops Rosati, Portier and Miles have authorized the undersigned to make known to their venerable brothers of the United States the approbation and encouragement which they have given to his project, and to give their names as his reference. He takes the liberty to add the names of Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, of Mr. Jeanjean of New Orleans, of Madame Gallitzin, Superioress of the Sacred Heart of the United States. The Agency will open on January 1, 1841. Correspondence with the undersigned may be in French or in English. The following form signed and sealed will be a sufficient proxy to authorize the undersigned to act with full power. "I, the undersigned, Archbishop (or Bishop) of N. N. in the United States of America, recognize and authorize Monsieur l'Abbé Brassac, formerly missionary in America, as my agent with the Association for the Propagation of the Faith established in Europe, and I ask all persons whom it may concern to honor him in this quality with their confidence."

I have the honor to remain, most respectfully of Your Grace, the most humble and devoted servant,

H. BRASSAC,
V. G. of Cincinnati and Nashville.

Paris,
Rue Cassette 28.

P. S.—There will always be with this agent an apartment for the Archbishops and Bishops during their stay at Paris.

I am unable to find any information of the work this Agency accomplished. Two other questions arise in this connection. Keeping in mind Brassac's deep interest in the American missions and his intimate acquaintance with so many of the Bishops and priests, especially in the South, one would naturally infer that there must have been a wide and lively correspondence between Brassac and the American prelates and clergy. May not some very interesting letters be stored away in the Episcopal

Archives of New Orleans, St. Louis, Bardstown, Mobile, Nashville, Natchez and Buffalo? What, on the other hand has become of Brassac's own correspondence of a hundred or more letters which came to him from America?[24]

From the later letters of Father Brassac, it is evident that for a time a coldness overshadowed his relations with Bishop Purcell, who seemed not to have been able to overcome a certain resentment against Brassac caused by false reports made to him in 1845. However, the fact that Bishop Purcell kept all these letters so carefully, shows conclusively that the bond of friendship was never entirely broken. In fact, that perfect harmony was restored between the two friends is evident by the cordial accent and soft ring of Brassac's last letter to Bishop Purcell. The cloud which for a time had veiled their friendship did pass away, as Brassac had foretold in his letter of November 13, 1844. Of his last years, we know nothing. From his last letter to Bishop Purcell in 1861, it would seem that Brassac finally had his cherished wish fulfilled, namely, to spend his last days in the quiet solitude of Marvéjols. Presuming that he was at least twenty-three years old, when ordained at St. Genevieve in 1818, he was sixty-six when this letter was written in 1861. Where did he die? Where is his grave to be sought? These questions may be answered, I trust, when the sun of peace again shines brightly over Brassac's home in the valley of Marvéjols and among the hills of Lozère.

✠ SEBASTIAN G. MESSMER,
Archbishop of Milwaukee.

[24] There are several hundred letters by Rosati, Blanc, Brassac, Jeanjean, Anduze and other pioneer missionaries still preserved in the Archives of St. Louis and at the Kenrick Seminary.

THE INQUISITION IN THE PHILIPPINES: THE SALCEDO AFFAIR

No institution of the Spanish colonial system has received less attention at the hands of modern scholars than the Inquisition. Introduced into the colonies during the reign of Charles V, when the heretical teachings of Luther were spreading throughout Europe, the Inquisition was designed to preserve the purity of the Faith in the Americas.[1] This institution was retained by Spain until well into the nineteenth century, long after other nations had discarded the policy upon which the Inquisition had originally been based. Long before its suppression, and as a reason for this action at last, its influence had come to be political as well as religious and its ill effects became manifest in the excesses of its agents and their utilization of the privileges and immunities of the Inquisition for personal ends. Although it may be said that the Inquisition contributed to the strengthening of the ecclesiastical power as opposed to the civil, it sometimes created dissensions within the Church, and especially between and even within the religious orders, and this considerably impaired the otherwise solid front of ecclesiastical unity. It is to these phases of the Inquisition's activities in the most isolated of Spain's colonies that this inquiry is directed.

The Inquisition, as represented by a commissary and three alternates, was established in the Philippines on March 1, 1583, by an act of the audiencia of Mexico.[2] The original rules of the establishment empowered the commissary to call upon the magistrates of the audiencia and the other civil authorities to aid him in the execution of his duties, but subsequently the customary inquisitorial staff was conceded to the commissary and he was aided by familiars, definitors, and *alguaciles*, who were endowed

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[1] The first inquisitor was sent to America in 1531. Inquisitorial power was conferred on various Franciscan and Dominican friars until 1571, when the abuse of authority by these monks led to the establishment of a regular Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico, at the head of which was Pedro de Moya y Contreras, afterward archbishop and viceroy.—BANCROFT, *History of Mexico*, ii, 675–679.

[2] Instructions to Commissary of the Inquisition, March 1, 1583, BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands*, 1493–1898, v, 256–273; see also DELGADO, *Historia de Filipinas*, 184.

with sufficient power to act on the order of their chief without the interposition of the civil officials.

The decree of establishment laid down the important regulation that the commissary should be a competent person, conversant with all phases of ecclesiastical law and experience, and selected because of his exceptional qualities. He was especially charged "not to employ the name and title of the Holy Office for avenging individual wrongs or for the intimidation or affront of any person." He had for his special field authority over questions of faith and heresy, "clearing away the errors and superstitions against the dogma and the lax opinions which pervert Christian morals."[3] The natives of the Philippines were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.[4]

It is important to note that the inquisitor was authorized to employ secrecy in the detection and punishment of offenses against the faith. He was also to impose the obligation of secrecy upon all who worked under his direction, and he was authorized to impose various punishments, spiritual, pecuniary or corporal, upon those who betrayed the secrets of the Inquisition, or upon those who otherwise interfered with its operation. This power was an important one, for, by its use, he was able to command the support and assistance of practically all persons in the colony in any act which he might perform as Commissary of the Inquisition. According to the law of establishment the commissary could only make arrests on the authority of the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Mexico or the Supreme Council of Madrid. It was decreed that since—

[3] PÉREZ Y LÓPEZ, *Teatro de la Legislación Española*, xxviii, 208; see pp. 207–237.

[4] As a part of his duty of preserving the faith and combatting heresy, the commissary was empowered to examine all books brought into the colony and seize any publications which were considered heretical or otherwise conflictory with the expurgatories of the Holy Inquisition. No books were allowed to circulate without his approval and all civil officials were ordered to cooperate with the commissary in this matter. He was also charged with the investigation and apprehension of all persons suspected of the crime of bigamy. Up to 1754 this offense was dealt with solely by the Inquisition, but by the *cédula* on March 19 of that year bigamy was made a civil crime with a corporal or confiscatory punishment, it being prescribed, however, that the jurisdiction of the inquisitors should take precedence over that of the civil authorities. On September 7, 1766, this offense was again made punishable solely by the Inquisition, but on August 10, 1788, jurisdiction over cases of bigamy was taken entirely from the Inquisition and given to the royal authorities. See note to *Recopilación*, 1-19-4.

> any arrest made by the Holy Faith is a matter of much reproach and dishonor for that person and of no less damage and injury to his property; therefore all arrests should be made with prudence, care and for just cause. Authority for this is not given to the commissary, who neither should nor can arrest a person except in special cases and by an especial order entrusted to him against the person who is arrested, and even then the commissary must see that the purpose of the said order be executed without exceeding it.

No provision was made for any special or extraordinary cases wherein he was to act on his own responsibility. Persons arrested by the commissary in the Philippines were to be sent to Mexico for trial. In short, the commissary was an executive arm in the Philippines of the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Mexico and he was without independent judicial or executive authority.

The relations of the commissary with the civil and ecclesiastical officials were carefully prescribed in the law of establishment. He was ordered "to show (his said) title to the governor and to the ecclesiastical and lay *cabildos* in order that they receive, treat and recognize him as a commissary and agent of so holy an office." The act, however, of showing the certificate of appointment to the *cabildos* was said to be only one of courtesy, and in no way a necessary proceeding, "for there is no need of their permission or approbation."[5] Thus, in matters of faith, which constituted

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[5] The laws of the Indies (*Recopilación*, 1-19-1) directed that inquisitors who were sent to the colonies should present their titles to the audiencias and viceroys and the latter were ordered to receive, assist and pay them all due respect. In fact, viceroys, audiencias and governors were ordered to execute the sentences of the inquisitors without question and to extend to them every facility and assistance (*Ibid.*, 1-19-18 and 19). From the very beginning, the dignitaries of the Inquisition were placed under special royal protection, with complete power over their own particular sphere, and both civil and ecclesiastical officials were warned not to interfere with them or oppose them in any manner. (Law of May 22, 1610, *Recopilación*, 1-19-2.) As early as March 10, 1553, the Council of the Indies placed itself and its dependent audiencias and officials in a position subordinate to that of the Inquisition. Any sort of interference with the latter by a civil official or court was forbidden. Civil officials could not restrain inquisitors, even when they were clearly infringing on the royal judisdiction; the interdicts levied by inquisitors could not be raised and none of the means usually employed by the royal authorities for their own protection could be used against the Inquisition. The proper proceeding in such a case was prescribed to be an appeal to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, resident in Madrid. This Council was especially constituted to nullify or reverse any harmful act or decision which the inquisitors might make. (Law of March 10, 1553 *Recopilación*, 1-19-4.)

the special field of the Inquisition, the commissary was placed above the other civil or ecclesiastical officials of the colony. In all matters of faith or heresy, wherein a conflict might arise with the magistrates of the civil government, or between the prelate or vicar of the secular church and the commissary, the claims of the latter were to be respected at the time, the differences to be appealed to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid, or settled by adjustment between that tribunal and the Council of the Indies.

The establishment of a branch of the Inquisition in the Philippines was variously received by different persons and authorities in Manila. Bishop Salazar, the Dominican prelate of the Islands, was greatly pleased to have this additional weapon in the hands of his own order, and since his ecclesiastical administration was largely given over to combatting the so-called encroachments of the civil government upon the ecclesiastical sphere, any contribution to the power of the church in the Islands was sure to meet with his approval. The audiencia of Manila, however, voiced the opposition of the entire civil government when it protested against the establishment of the Inquisition "in a land so far from Your Majesty, where your faithful subjects may be reduced to fear by it." The audiencia correctly forecasted the future trend of affairs in the Islands when it predicted that the Inquisition would be used "as a citadel for the shelter of those desirous of resisting the royal authority."[6]

At various times in the history of the Islands efforts were made by the churchmen to have a tribunal of the Inquisition erected in the Philippines. This was proposed in 1598 by Archbishop Santibañez, who argued that the inadequate powers accorded to the commissary in the Philippines and the necessity of appealing all cases to Mexico had caused great injustice to be done to residents of the Philippines. The delays to which cases were subjected brought about great incovenience and it was "manifestly unjust that residents of the Philippines should be judged by a foreign court."[7] The same sentiments were expressed later by Francisco Bello, a religious procurator at Madrid, who, acting in the interests of the various religious orders in the

[6] Audiencia to King, June 26, 1586, *A. I.*, 68–1–33.

[7] Santibañez to Philip II, June 26, 1598, BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. X, p. 151.

Philippines, sought to delimit the authority of the Dominicans in inquisitorial matters by creating a tribunal in the Philippines. However, after obtaining the advice of the Viceroy of New Spain and consulting the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico and the Supreme Council in Madrid, the Council of the Indies refused to alter the existing arrangement. Conditions were not ripe for the establishment of a tribunal in Manila; on account of the small Spanish population there few cases demanded the attention of the Inquisition in the Philippines, and such as there were could be adjusted by the commissary. The Islands, moreover, could not sustain the expense of supporting a tribunal, and it was felt that serious abuses might arise from the establishment of one completely independent in a place so distant and isolated as Manila.[8] Thus it was that the Inquisition continued to be represented in the Philippines by a commissary and no changes were made in the powers originally conferred upon him by the original decree of 1583.

While it is not the purpose here to give a complete history of the Inquisition in the Philippines, we may summarize its career by stating that, aside from its spiritual duties, it wielded an extensive political influence. All of the commissaries up to 1660 being Dominicans, as well as the majority of the prelates, they were mutually interested in the glorification of their own orders even at the expense of rival societies and the civil government.[9] The latter were entirely without means to prevent the commissary from taking unfair advantage of his position and his utilization of the numerous exemptions and immunities which the Inquisition conferred upon him. An equally serious charge frequently brought against the representative of the Inquisition was that he took advantage of his position for the furtherance of his own interests and for the gratification of his own personal

[8] *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, May 15, 1659, *A. I.*, 67–6–22.

[9] This was especially true during the early history of the Islands. On June 20, 1585, the audiencia, in a letter to the king, cited several instances in which Bishop Salazar, unwilling to cede his claims to jurisdiction over certain civil offenders, handed the latter over to the Commissary of the Inquisition, instead of surrendering them to the audiencia, where jurisdiction over such cases belonged. The audiencia, appealing to the king for aid, alleged that the prelate had taken unfair advantage of the civil power, "by sheltering himself behind the Inquisition, . . . where the audiencia had no jurisdiction."—Audiencia to King, July 20, 1585, *A. I.*, 67–6–18.

desires.[10] Under these conditions the Inquisition openly fought the government and on one notable occasion vanquished it completely.

The most striking example of an abuse by the Inquisition of its power in the Philippines, and one which may be considered as typical of the utmost excesses of which that institution was capable, occurred in the arrest, imprisonment and deportation of Governor Diego de Salcedo in 1688 by the Commissary of the Inquisition. An investigation of the circumstances surrounding this event shows that considerations of religion entered into the matter but slightly, if at all, and that the inquisitor was almost entirely influenced by personal and political motives. We shall examine in some detail the main events of this affair, considering it as an isolated example, perhaps, of the harm which the Inquisition might inflict upon a colony, noting at the same time the operation of the machinery which was available for dealing with such cases.

The good or bad qualities of the administration of any governor or viceroy in the Spanish colonies may always be estimated by contrasting it with the rule of his predecessor. The government of the latter furnishes a background or setting for a comparison which frequently works out to the discredit of the prevailing administration and explains why there is dissatisfaction with it. So it was in the case of Governor Salcedo. His predecessor, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, was a man of mild manners, and of an easy-going disposition. During his term a coterie of ecclesiastics and merchants practically controlled the government and manipulated the governor as they chose.[11] During Lara's term the civil power reached a low ebb, official dishonesty flourished, matters of defense were neglected, the galleons were

[10] Lea, in his *Inquisition in the Spanish Colonies*, 299–318, furnishes a general account of the history of the Holy Office in the Philippines. He says that "while this branch of the Inquisition did little for the faith, it was eminently successful in the function of contributing to the disorder and confusion which so disastrously affected colonial administration" (p. 308).

[11] A summary of "all the ten years' term of government of the prudent and magnanimous governor, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara," may be found written in terms of glowing appreciation in "Augustinians in the Philippines," in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 185-224. See also CONCEPCIÓN, *Historia General de Philipinas*, vii, 104–130.

mismanaged, several were lost, the revenues declined, and the colony was of no advantage or profit to the King, or, in fact, to any other person or persons except those comprising the inner circle of merchants and politicians who thrived at the expense of the colony.[12]

The need of reform was therefore so great that on December 2, 1661, a royal appointment as governor of the Philippines was conferred upon Diego de Salcedo, who was of Hispano-Flemish parentage, a native of Brussels, a favorite of Don Juan of Austria, and accordingly a man with considerable influence at court. He had acquired an excellent reputation as a capable military commander and as an efficient administrator during his career of service in the Netherlands, and it was thought that he possessed the proper qualities to meet the situation in the Philippines and could put an end to the abuses of the merchants and ecclesiastics of Manila. It was expected that he would restore the Islands to their former commercial prosperity, and establish adequate defenses. The accomplishment of these purposes, even in a limited way, or even an attempt to carry them out, was certain to raise up many enemies and their opposition, under determined leadership, was certain to cause the governor much embarrassment and difficulty.

Although Salcedo was appointed in 1661, irregularities in the sailing of the galleon compelled him to wait in Mexico for two years before he could proceed to his post. During his residence in Mexico he quarrelled with Fray José Paternina, an Augustinian who was awaiting transportation to Manila, where he was delegated to serve as Commissary of the Inquisition. Salcedo, it was said, had paid attentions to a female relative of the commissary, and his acts were resented by the latter.[13] No

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[12] A subsidy of 250,000 pesos was sent annually from Mexico for the support of the government of the Philippines, the cost of which averaged 400,000 pesos a year in the nineteenth century. Financially, therefore, the Philippines were maintained at a loss to the Spanish Government. See the controversial articles on *The Philippine Subsidy* by E. G. Bourne and James A. Leroy in the *American Historical Review*, x, 457–459, 929–932.

[13] The above, and the other facts contained in this paragraph, were brought out in the secret investigation which was conducted by Governor León on his arrival at Manila. The papers relative to this proceeding were sent by him to the Council of the Indies on June 10, 1670. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

sooner had the galleon departed from Acapulco than Salcedo, utilizing the authority which he exercised as governor over the *ad interim* appointment of galleon officials, deprived the commander of the galleon, Andrés de Medina, of his place and substituted Francisco García de Fresno.[14] Medina was a friend of Paternina, and during the remainder of the voyage the commissary and his faction exhibited increased hostility to the governor on account of this act. This opposition was fanned into open resistance after the governor had publicly reproved an Augustinian friar, who was also a friend of Paternina, for a sermon which the former preached on the voyage. Thus it was that before their arrival at Cagayán, in the north of Luzón, where they disembarked the last of August, 1663, Paternina had openly manifested his hostility to the governor and had made a threat in the hearing of all that he would cause Salcedo's downfall.

The reforms accomplished during the administration of Salcedo from 1663 to 1668 justified the hopes of those who had sent him to the Islands, but their fulfilment caused his downfall. He gave his predecessor a very severe *residencia*, removing from office a large number of the latter's dependents, thereby creating many enemies among the official class. In order to facilitate commerce and communication with New Spain, he at once gave his personal attention to the building of galleons, and during his rule a large number of ships were added to Spain's Pacific fleet. Salcedo endeavored to avoid the dissatisfaction and unrest

[14] Medina had come to Mexico with a royal commission to explore and chart the Solomon Islands and had presented to the viceroy, the Conde de Baños, letters from the king ordering the viceroy to aid in fitting out an expedition. This the viceroy had failed to do, but believing that Medina's credentials gave him priority over García, he made the latter commander of the galleon on which he was to sail for the scene of his future operations, thus reducing García, who had brought the galleon from Manila in 1662, to the position of second-in-command. Convinced of the injustice of this proceeding, Salcedo restored the latter to his post, and Medina continued as a passenger to Manila, whence he subsequently embarked for Cochin China. Although no definite news of his expedition was ever received, it appears that he arrived at his destination and was there murdered by the natives. Some of the merchandise which he carried with him and a number of mathematical instruments were afterwards offered for sale to the Portuguese. *Autos* relative to the destitution exist in *A. I.*, 67-6-3. This act of Salcedo was approved by the Council of the Indies.—Testimony of Fray Enriquez, April 29, 1670, *A. I.*, 67-6-3; secondary accounts may be found also in CONCEPCIÓN, vii, 131–135, and in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 234.

usually resulting from the hardships which the natives were compelled to undergo in the construction of these ships by a distribution of the burdens of shipbuilding among the various provinces.[15] He strengthened the fortifications and defenses of the Islands, putting the garrisons under the command of experienced officers from the Low Countries. He enforced the laws and rules of the royal ecclesiastical patronage, compelling the archbishop and the provincials of the religious orders to acknowledge his headship over the church in all matters which pertained to the relation of the latter with the civil government.

With equal energy he applied himself to the development of the commercial resources of the islands, and to an elimination of the dishonesty which had been characteristic of the administration of the galleons for so many years. He developed native industries and encouraged trade with China, entering into commercial relations with the Dutch at Batavia and with the English in India. His aim was to make Manila the great commercial center of the Far East, and there was scarcely any time during the latter years of his administration, when the harbor of Manila did not shelter the ships of these various nations. Finally, and most importantly, he reformed the administration of trade at Manila, seeing that the galleon left the islands at the most favorable opportunity, and at the date prescribed by the royal *cédulas*.

These reformatory measures interfered with the *status quo* and spoiled the commercial monopolies and trading arrangements already perfected by the merchants of Manila. As a result,

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[15] *Repartimientos* or *polos* of Indians were forced to labor in building these ships. Owing to the cruel treatment suffered by the natives in this work hundreds paid the price of their lives for each galleon built. During Salcedo's rule the ship "Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro," the largest and best ever constructed in the Philippines was built at a cost to the king of sixty thousand pesos. The building of this ship occupied the remarkably short space of one year. Relative to the value of Philippine woods for the construction of galleons, Casimiro Díaz says in his *Conquistas* that "the woods of Filipinas are the best that can be found in all the universe; because for the inside work, the ribs and knees, the keel and rudder, molave is used, which is the hardest wood known; and at its disintegration it is converted into stone by being kept in the water. Lavang (lauan) is used for the sheathing outside the ribs; it is so strong and of such a nature that no artillery ball will pass through it; and the greatest harm that the ball can do is to stick in the wood without entering inside the ship." BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 251.

therefore, Governor Salcedo came to have enemies in every quarter. The city was filled with dissatisfied persons who were eager for revenge, and who were willing to cooperate with Paternina in his openly avowed invention to ruin the governor. The commissary was apparently glad to take advantage of the state of general unrest to carry out his purpose.[16]

It would seem, in fact, that Salcedo's enemies might be divided into three classes, all of whom, however, were united in their determination to ruin him. First, there were the dispossessed officials and disappointed office-seekers and their relatives, who clustered in Manila, and who were awaiting an opportunity to get into office, or otherwise drew their living from the government, even if they had to ruin the men who, up to that time, had prevented the fulfilment of their designs.[17] The merchant classes were displeased because Salcedo's commercial reforms had interfered with their monopoly, and especially because, as they alleged, he caused the galleons to depart before their cargo was ready, carrying only his own commodities. Various charges of commercial dishonesty were brought by them against the governor. Some of the ecclesiastics were also dissatisfied with Salcedo's rule, notably the Archbishop and the personal following of the commissary, for reasons which have already been suggested.

The opposition to Salcedo reached such a point that on the night of October 9, 1668, his room was entered by the Commissary of the Inquisition, who was accompanied by his *alguaciles* and by about forty armed friars and officials of the classes described above. They seized and arrested Salcedo in his bed, on charges said to have been proffered by the Holy Inquisition, handcuffed him and conducted him in a hammock to the Franciscan convent, where he was imprisoned. Subsequently he was taken to the house of Diego de Palencia, his most bitter enemy, also a disappointed office-seeker, and a short time later he was transferred to the Augustinian convent for still greater security. Owing to the objections of the provincial of that order to his retention there, he was exiled to Cavite, where he awaited trans-

[16] Governor de León to the Council of the Indies, June 10, 1670, *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

[17] They were thus characterized by the royal *fiscal* in his summary of the case before the Council of the Indies, May 9, 1671. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

fer to New Spain to be tried by the Tribunal of the Inquisition. After several months of imprisonment there he was put on the Acapulco galleon of 1669, but that ship encountered such foul weather that it was compelled to return to the Islands, and the governor was again imprisoned until the next year. His health, in the meantime, had become seriously impaired by the long series of vicissitudes which had befallen him, among which had been various unnecessary inflictions heaped upon him by his enemies. The discomforts of the long voyage to New Spain, and the abrupt changes of climate involved, further aggravated his condition, and he died at sea in 1670.

Ere this, however, and in fact just after Salcedo's arrest, a dispute arose between the *oidores* for the temporary governorship. The law of April 2, 1664, had authorized the audiencia to govern in case of a vacancy, the senior *oidor* assuming the leadership and particularly taking charge of the military affairs, while the audiencia as a body should concern itself with matters of administration.[18] The dispute over the question of seniority became quite violent between *Oidores* Francisco de Coloma and Francisco Montemayor y Mansilla,[19] and the settlement of the question was finally entrusted to the good offices of Juan Manuel de la Peña Bónifaz, the junior magistrate of the audiencia, who was put forward as arbiter by the ecclesiastical element. As soon as Bónifaz obtained control of the government, he assumed the rôle of dictator, marshalling the military forces of the Islands and dispensing money freely among soldiers and malcontents to insure his popularity.[20] Taking the precaution of exiling his

[18] RECOPILACIÓN, 2-15-18. This law is also reproduced as *testimonio* in *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

[19] Although Coloma's appointment bore a date which was a few days anterior to that of Montemayor and they had both come to the Philippines on the same galleon, the latter based his claims to seniority on the fact that he had hastened overland and arrived in the city a few days earlier than his colleague. See BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 29-30, 232-233.

[20] It is said that during the eleven months of his rule, which was chiefly supported by the military and ecclesiastical elements, he employed all the money which he found in the royal treasury, including the *situado* of 250,000 pesos, and in addition 400,000 pesos more which he confiscated. He made extensive use of bribes and threats. When he exiled *Oidores* Coloma and Montemayor and prosecuted *Fiscal* Borbera, he bribed a number of witnesses to testify against them. He hired a lawyer, Juan de Rosales, to act as his legal adviser, and to write a defense of his government

two former colleagues and the royal *fiscal*, this *oidor* was able to rule without notable interruption until the arrival of the new governor, Manuel de León, in September, 1669. In reality, the power behind the rule of Bónifaz was the Inquisition, as embodied in the person and power of José Paternina, its commissary in Manila. This episode shows the extremes to which the civil government of the Philippines could be reduced by the powerful institution of the Inquisition when its abused its authority.

Aside from the letters of Governor León and the correspondence between the Council of the Indies and that of the Inquisition, the most valuable evidence relative to the Salcedo affair and the circumstances which led to it are summarized in the official documents relative to the case, existing in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. One of these collections, containing the charges which were made preliminary to the *residencia* of Governor

(this *manifesto* is mentioned by DÍAZ in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxviii, 273). Rosales subsequently testified against Bónifaz (*Testimonio* of Juan de Rosales, April 8, 1670, *A. I.*, 67-6-3). Among the abuses of Bónifaz was the appointment of his seven-year-old son as military captain at a salary of 1,500 pesos a year. He opened the correspondence of *oidores*, and literally harried to death the *Fiscal*, Don Diego de Corbera, who could not endorse his government as legal. Notwithstanding these facts, and in spite of the violence which Bónifaz displayed in his assumption and retention of the control of affairs, the Augustinian historians, CONCEPCIÓN (VII, 208) and DÍAZ (in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 271–275) say that his rule was wise and beneficial to all. It was without doubt favorable to the religious element, and notably to the Augustinian order, for the administration of Bónifaz was merely a cloak covering the rule of the Augustinian Commissary of the Inquisition. This accounts for the fact that the first reports which reached the Council of the Indies, coming from religious sources, described the moderation of the rule of Bónifaz. On the basis of these letters, the Council of the Indies, in its *consulta* of September 22, 1670, reported to the king on the salutary character of his administration. Subsequent testimony corrected these misrepresentations and properly described the evil character of the rule of the *oidor*. In the *consultas* of May 22 and May 30, 1671, the Council of the Indies discountenanced all the acts of the government of the *oidor*; he was accused of insurrection and treason by the *Fiscal* of the Council, his property was ordered to be confiscated, and it was prescribed that he should be exiled to Cavite while proceedings were brought against him by the governor and his *asesor*. The latter were expressly ordered to show him no leniency. Bónifaz frustrated the king's justice, however, by taking refuge in the convent of his friends, the Augustinians. Efforts were made to seize and prosecute him, but his ecclesiastical champions were able to afford him adequate shelter until his death. (*Consultas* of May 22, May 30 and June 1, 1670, *A. I.*, 67-6-3; see BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 23–63, wherein is reproduced a letter dated January 15, 1669, written in prison by an unknown official who took a prominent part in the events described, and who was imprisoned by Bónifaz for opposing his rule.)

Salcedo,[21] describes the commercial abuses of this governor, and these latter, no doubt, constituted sufficient justification for his arrest by the civil government, but not necessarily by the Inquisition. The other material referred to, which bears directly on Salcedo's arrest by the Inquisition, consists of the *testimonios* collected by Governor León on his arrival at Manila and forwarded to the Council of the Indies on June 10, 1670.[22] It was on the basis of this evidence that the Council of the Indies rendered its final judgment on the case and entered into negotiation with the Council of the Inquisition with the object of bringing about such reforms as would prevent a recurrence of such abuses in the future.

The preliminaries of the *residencia* of Governor Salcedo were begun by *Oidor* Francisco de Coloma the day following the governor's arrest. Notice had already come to the colony of the appointment of Governor León to succeed Salcedo, whose term was about to expire, and the *residencia*, itself, in accordance with the law, was to be taken on the arrival of the new governor. The immediateness of this preliminary investigation was said to have been prompted by the apprehension that unless the government intervened, the commissary of the Inquisition would seize all of Salcedo's property[23] and that there would be no financial surety to cover the *residencia* in case the charges brought against Salcedo were proved. So it was that an investigation was begun by Coloma on October 10, 1668, and closed on the tenth of the following month. The evidence brought forth on this occasion

[21] *Traslado de los autos de residencia del gobenador Don Diego de Salcedo y del capitán Don Juan de Zaleata, 10 de Noviembre de 1668, remitido por el arzobispo Félix Pardo, 10 de Julio de 1686.*

[22] Governor León to the Council of the Indies, June 10, 1670, *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

[23] In seizing the property of Governor Salcedo, or in permitting it to be seized, Paternina was guilty of a flagrant violation of his instructions. As a matter of of fact, the law of establishment, referred to already in his treatise, forbade the sequestration of property by the commissary, partially on account of the loss which its complete alienation might incur to its owner. Therefore, property should not be seized by the commissary, under any circumstances, but, instead, its care should be entrusted temporarily to some other person, preferably a friend of the person detained, who could manage it until the Tribunal of the Inquisition might investigate the case. Sequestration was to be effected only on the order of the tribunal, and then as a part of the punishment inflicted upon the guilty person, "for, in punishing a crime, the property of the guilty person is always regarded as an accessory element." BLAIR and ROBERTSON, v, 269.

had no bearing on the arrest of Salcedo by the Inquisition, being concerned only with his commercial excesses. Evidence was submitted to show that Salcedo had misappropriated government funds, utilizing them for the purchase of goods from the Chinese, Dutch and English traders. It was charged that Salcedo had paid the Chinese alone as much as 150,000 pesos of this money.[24] On three separate occasions he was said to have forced the treasury officials to give him sums of 18,000, 24,000 and 40,000 pesos respectively, and these expenditures were subsequently covered by falsification of the accounts.[25] In order to make it more easy to obtain money from the treasury, Salcedo was said to have taken Manuel de la Vega, a treasury official, into his confidence, sharing with him the profits derived from these various trading operations.[26] While the royal funds were thus being misspent, the salaries of the Manila officials, including the *oidores*, archbishop and minor churchmen, were left unpaid.[27]

The fact was brought out in this investigation that at the time of Salcedo's arrest several Dutch, English and Chinese ships were anchored at Cavite, and that all of these had come to trade with Salcedo and his coterie. Not only was the royal *cédula* which forbade the trade of foreigners in Spain's colonies thus disregarded, but the governor was said to have bought up a large portion of their cargo with royal funds.[28] Probably the gravest

[24] *Testimonio de Capitan Juan de Santibañez, 25 de Octubre de* 1668, *A. I.*, 68–133,

[25] *Testimonio de Maestre de Campo Don Agustín de Zepeda, 10 de Octubre de* 1668, *Ibid.* Zepeda had been imprisoned by Salcedo on a charge of complicity with his brother-in-law in utilizing a *repartimiento* of Indians to cut timber and build a house for his personal use. BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 28.

[26] BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 42.

[27] *Testimonio del Capitan Diego de Palencia, 24 de Octubre de* 1668, *A. I.*, 68-1-83. Palencia was a sworn enemy of Salcedo and a friend of the commissary. As *alguazil* of the Inquisition, he had assisted in the arrest, and it was in his house that the prisoner had been confined for several days after he was taken into custody. Palencia was Bónifaz's right-hand man, being the custodian of the wealth seized by him, and at the same time serving as *alcalde* of the *Parián* (the Chinese section of Manila). He was said to have made the statement publicly that the arrest of Salcedo was the best thing that ever happened in the Philippines, that in the future, as a result of it, governors would not be such thieves, and that all that had been needed in the colony had been men brave enough to check their avarice. (*Testimonio de Francisco de Enríquez, 29 de April,* 1670, *Ibid*).

[28] For instance, it was said that Salcedo and his friends, General Tomás Garcia y Cárdenas and Maestre de Campo Juan de Vergara, had bought cloth (*piesas de elefante*) from these ships at seven and a half pesos the piece and sold them at ten

charges proffered against Salcedo were concerned with his wholesale trade with the Dutch at Batavia. Not only did he encourage the Hollanders to come to Manila, but in 1666 and 1667 he was said to have dispatched ships, ostensibly for the relief of the Spanish colony at 'ernate, but in reality under secret orders to Batavia and Jacatra instead. He confided the command of these vessels to his friends, Gaspar Ruiz de Aguazo and Captain Juan de Zaleata, respectively, entrusting them with sufficient funds, and giving them authority to purchase merchandise from the Dutch and return with it to Manila. A portion of these commodities was said to have been sold at high prices to the merchants of Manila by intermediaries of Salcedo.[29] Those who bought promptly were allowed the privilege of shipping to Acapulco, but those who did not were prevented from utilizing the galleon at all by the governor's failure to notify them of the exact sailing date.

This testimony, as already stated, was collected by the officials of the civil government, ostensibly to show that there were enough charges against the governor to justify the seizure of his property pending the *residencia* which was to come. Undoubtedly there was another purpose, and one much more important to Bónifaz and to those who had assisted or had passively permitted his arrest and imprisonment. From their point of view it was desirable for them to incorporate into a legal document such charges against the governor as would show that Salcedo's administration was intolerable to all and would justify his apprehension by the civil government. The dishonest character of his administration being patent, the submission of the *oidores* and other civil officials to the arrest of the governor by the commissary would probably be approved by the home government, since in this case the Inquisition would be sparing it the necessity of acting. The opinion that this was a leading motive for the formulation of this document immediately after the

pesos each to the merchants of Manila. The only way the latter could get this merchandise was by buying it from the governor at this outrageous price. *Testimonio de Licenciado Manuel Suárez de Olivera*, 10 *de Octre de* 1668, *Ibid.* Suárez was one of the legal advisers and supporters of Bónifaz. BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 278.

[29] Palencia testified that Salcedo gave Zalaeta 50,000 pesos for investment in this venture. *Testimonio* of Palencia, October 24, 1668, and of Manuel Suárez de Olivera, October 10, 1668, *A. I.*, 68-1-33.

arrest of the governor seems to be confirmed by the fact that this evidence was collected in the name of the audiencia,[30] whose magistrates did nothing to oppose the governor's arrest, and furthermore by the fact that the testimony obtained was entirely unfavorable to the governor, all of the witnesses being his sworn enemies and most of them being directly concerned with his arrest. At any rate this evidence is important in showing why the commissary was able to count on the cooperation of the merchants and residents of Manila as well as the ecclesiastical element and in demonstrating that there were other provocations for his arrest than those involving religion.

A more complete account of the proceedings of the Commissary of the Inquisition may be found in the records of the investigation conducted by Governor Manuel de León and forwarded to the court on June 10, 1670. Just as the trend of the testimony examined above was against the governor, so the general tendency of this evidence was to exculpate him and to demonstrate with what injustice the commissary and his ally, Bónifaz, had acted. It was shown that Paternina and Salcedo had been enemies from the beginning, and that the commissary had publicly declared his intention of ruining the governor on repeated occasions. Considerable evidence was adduced to show that Paternina was impulsive and hot-tempered and that he lacked the qualities appropriate for such an important and responsible office as that of Commissary of the Inquisition.[31] So evident was this that even his provincial, Fray Alonzo Quijano, had written to the Tribunal of the Inquisition, asking for his removal and for the appointment of another commissary, urging

[30] Coloma's relations with Salcedo had not always been the most pleasant, however, and there is evidence to show that the audiencia had full knowledge of the commissary's efforts and intention to arrest the governor. (*Testimonio de Miguel Solano, Provincial de la Compañia de Jesus*, 23 *de Mayo de* 1670, *A. I.*, 67-6-3.) It is easy to understand, therefore, why Coloma might be willing to submit such a body of evidence as this. Although Coloma did not assist in the arrest of the governor and could not at first countenance the legality of the government of Bónifaz, the *oidor* subsequently gave up his opposition to the rule of the usurper, was recalled from exile and even participated in the government during the last weeks of his rule.

[31] *Testimonio de Don Gerónimo de Herrera*, 1 *de Mayo*, 1670, *A. I.*, 67-6-3. Fray Miguel Solano, Provincial of the Jesuits, wrote that Paternina was "a youth without education and without experience." *Consulta* of September 22, 1670, *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

that Paternina was not the right person for the place.[32] On the other hand, it was conceded by all that Salcedo was avaricious. The accusations of his commercial abuses were confirmed, although evidence was submitted to show that many of the consignments made in his name were in reality for the provincial officials, and that much of the money found in his possession when arrested belonged to them. This, it seems, was the customary procedure whereby those absent in the distant provinces were able to trade, receive or remit merchandise or personal effects. It was also proved that the governor had repeatedly levied blackmail on the various religious orders.[33]

Considerable testimony was submitted by the ecclesiastics to show that the governor had never failed to manifest openly his lack of respect for the holy faith and for those who labored in its service. He repeatedly showed his contempt for "meddling friars," he defied Archbishop Poblete[34] and scoffed at the Com-

[32] *Testimonio de Fray Francisco Enríquez.* This friar testified that Paternina rebelled repeatedly against the rules of his Order, preferring to wander about the streets at night and conduct himself otherwise in a very unecclesiastical manner. He therefore had considerable difficulty with his own Provincial, to whose authority he was subject as an Augustinian friar. His Provincial refused to aid him in arresting the governor, holding at naught his threats of excommunication. On May 10, 1673, Fray Gerónimo de León, then Augustinian provincial, wrote the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Mexico that Quijano, his predecessor, had protested repeatedly against the incumbency of Paternina as commissary, and hence disclaimed all responsibility for his acts. *A. I.*, 68-1-44.

[33] Fray Gerónimo de León stated on May 10, 1673, that Salcedo had deprived the Orders in the Philippines of sums exceeding 120,000 pesos and that Governor Manuel de León, since his arrival in 1669, had taken 40,000 in the same way. (*A. I.*, 68-1-44.) The *consulta* of the Council of the Indies, dated September 22, 1670, commented on the unpopularity of Governor Salcedo with the Augustinians, repeating the charge that he had taken 150,000 pesos from that Order. (*A. I.*, 67-6-3.) A footnote in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 60, says that after the arrest of Salcedo the Augustinians laid claim to 100,000 pesos to be taken from his estate, this sum having been paid to him by the order so that he would overlook the excesses which they had committed.

[34] It appeared from this testimony that Archbishop Poblete had repeatedly urged Paternina to arrest the governor for his continual disregard of the sanctity of the Holy Church, manifested in his many altercations with the archbishop. (*Testimonio* of Herrera, *op. cit*). Poblete came to the Islands in 1653. His relations with Governor Lara were very pleasant, but in contrast to this he had considerable difficulty with Salcedo. One of their many controversies, and one sufficiently typical, was over the appointment of Diego de Cartagena y Pantoja, a renegade Jesuit of low morals and a notoriously bad reputation, as dean of the Cathedral in February, 1666. Cartagena's appointment was entirely

missary of the Inquisition. He had little sympathy with church festivals, frequently declining to take his place as vice-patron at the head of religious processions, even refusing to go to the window of his house to see them pass.[35] On one or two occasions Salcedo was said to have impetuously made sacrilegious remarks about divine service, and about the Mass, but these he immediately recalled, always showing great contrition and regret for his hastiness. He was faithful in attendance at the cathedral, and at all other religious services. He showed great interest in the conversion of the Igorrotes and in the extension of missionary work in China, furnishing considerable aid to the friars who were laboring there. He was also quite generous in giving alms, having conceded to the Franciscans the sum of 5,000 pesos for the completion of their convent, only a few days before his arrest.[36] Indeed, Salcedo appeared to have been on very friendly terms with the provincials of the Jesuits and the Augustinians, and in turn these friars refused to take any part in his arrest, and they subsequently testified in his favor in the investigation which was made of the affair.[37]

We may therefore question the statement of the Dominican historian, Fonseca, who relates that Salcedo was arrested because all classes of Manila society were weary of his excesses, and that the Inquisition was the only institution which could

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legal, but Poblete objected to him on personal grounds. Cartagena presented his credentials to the governor, who recognized them and ordered that he be given the place to which he had been appointed. Poblete appealed to the audiencia and that tribunal supported the governor. The Archbishop accused Paternina of cowardice for not arresting the governor on this occasion. Poblete died on December 8, 1667, a few months before the arrest of Salcedo. He was succeeded as archbishop (elect) in May, 1673, by Fray Juan López, former Bishop of Cebú. —León to the Council, May 8, 1673, A. I., 67-6-11.

[35] *Testimonio de Juan de Rosales*, 8 *de Abril de* 1670; *Carta del gobernador Manuel de León*, 10 *de Junio de* 1670. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

[36] *Ibid.* See also BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 265, where a footnote states: "Salcedo was taken to the Franciscan convent, and immediately the conspirators celebrated the event (of Salcedo's arrest) with suppers and the drinking of toasts through the night, according to previous arrangements made by them. In this manner did the fathers of St. Francis return his pious act, and the alms of 5,000 pesos which he had just given them for the building of their church. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, p. 532.)"

[37] *Testimonio de Miguel Solano, Provincial de la Compañia de Jesus*, 23 *de Mayo de* 1670. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

afford relief.[38] On the contrary, it would appear that Salcedo had the support of the best elements in the Philippines. It is true, indeed, that the greater part of Manila "society" was composed of dissatisfied office-seekers, grasping merchants and their respective dependents. It would appear from the evidence examined up to this point that the chief objections to the governor were based on his political and commercial acts. The actual reasons for Salcedo's arrest still remain a secret of the Inquisition. It would seem, however, that his opposition to the friars, his soldierly bluntness, his impetuosity, and his lack of respect for some of the outward semblances of worship gave to the commissary a pretext of which the latter hastened to avail himself, being actuated by personal considerations and being able to command the support of persons who bore resentment against the government for political and commercial reasons. Some of these persons assisted willingly, pleased with the opportunity thus presented to avenge themselves, while others aided under threat of ecclesiastical censure.[39]

The governor's commercial relations with the Dutch, his Flemish ancestry and origin, the fact of his having sent large sums of money out of the colony and that he had more in his possession, apparently ready to send, and above all, the circumstance that there were Dutch vessels in the harbor, with whose officers he had been very intimate, gave ground for the rumor that Salcedo was preparing to leave the Islands to take refuge in Java, and possibly surrender the colony to the heretics.[40]

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[38] FONSECA in his *Historia de la Provincia de Santo Rosario*, Lib. V, Cap. VIII (reproduced in part in *Sobre Una Reseña Historica*, p. 92). The Jesuit provincial wrote to the Council of the Indies that Paternina proceeded without the aid or advice of the secular church, the ecclesiastical ordinary, the bishops or the audiencia, but only with the assistance of a few friars of his own choice. *Consulta* of September 22, 1670, cited above.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] This charge was made in a letter of the ecclesiastical *cabildo* of Manila and was considered in the Council of the Indies on September 22, 1670. This is proved, the letter alleges, by his traitorous correspondence with the Dutch at Batavia and the neglected state of defense into which the Islands had fallen. This charge was characterized by the *fiscal* of the Council, as a pretext for Salcedo's arrest in his opinion of May 9, 1671. See also LEA, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Colonies*, p. 312. See also the letter of an unknown official dated January 15, 1669, in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 56.

There is no certainty that this charge was officially made against Salcedo by the commissary, but had it been made, it would not have constituted any case for correction by the Inquisition. Certain it is that this report was circulated in Manila and was even carried to the Council of the Indies by Salcedo's ecclesiastical and political enemies, and there is accordingly no doubt that this was the general impression which was deliberately created regarding the intentions of this governor.

There is considerable evidence that Paternina was not sure of his right to make this arrest.[41] He first endeavored to have the governor apprehended by the civil government on charges of treason and misgovernment. It is said that the question of the governor's detention was considered in the audiencia, but that tribunal refused to take the step. Although the *oidores* did nothing to deter Paternina from arresting the governor, they refused to coöperate in any way with him, or to enter into the plan which the commissary urged, of detaining the governor on civil charges. Disregarding the advice which was offered by the more prudent of his religious contemporaries, Paternina proceeded on his own responsibility.[42]

The final point to be considered in this discussion is that of the authority for the commissary's act. It is clear that he proceeded hastily, that he was influenced, partially, at least, by worldly considerations, and that he was supported and assisted by persons whose motives were open to question. The main problem, however, to be solved, is whether the commissary exceeded his powers, or whether he was within his own rights and was proceeding on the basis of authority conceded to him by ecclesiastical and civil law. As these questions were finally settled in the Council of the Indies and in the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, we shall note the effect, on those two tribunals,

[41] *Testimonio* of Juan de Rosales, April 8, 1670, and of the Provincial of the Jesuits, May 23, 1670, already cited. The letter of Governor de León, dated June 10, 1670, considered by the Council of the Indies in the *consulta* of May 30, 1671, described "the irresolution of Paternina, and his uncertainty whether Salcedo should be arrested as a tyrant, a traitor or a heretic." León stated that the former charges were abandoned, however, after consultation with the *oidores*. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

[42] In the *consulta* of June 22, 1671, the observation was made that Paternina refused to consult regarding this matter with any person not already of his own opinion. *Ibid.*

of the acts which transpired in Manila and observe the manner in which the final settlement of the question was brought about.

Although the unofficial reports of the Salcedo affair reached the Council of the Indies on October 14, 1669, via Holland, the matter was first formally considered in that tribunal on the basis of reliable information on September 22, 1670.[43] Various communications were received from Manila at this time, and among them was a report from Bónifaz relative to his adjudication of the dispute between Coloma and Montemayor. Letters were also received from various religious sources, testifying to the beneficial effects of the administration of the *oidor*. Several accounts of the evil rule and of the subsequent arrest of Governor Salcedo also came to hand, the ecclesiastical *cabildo* relating that property to the value of 700,000 pesos belonging to the ex-governor had been seized, and *Oidor* Coloma reported that the preliminary steps of Salcedo's *residencia* had been taken.[44]

In the *consulta* of September 22, 1670, which followed upon the receipt of these various letters, the Council expressed considerable surprise that neither the Viceroy of New Spain nor the inquisitorial tribunal of Mexico had made any report on the matter. From this it was deduced that Paternina had acted solely on his own responsibility, since otherwise the tribunal in Mexico would have reported to the viceroy in case it had prescribed Salcedo's arrest. Therefore, acting in the king's name, the Council of the Indies drafted a communication to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, asking for information relative to Paternina's character and fitness, desiring to know whether

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[43] It is interesting to note that the first report which reached the court, communicating the news of the arrest of Governor Salcedo did not come through the regular channels, but was transmitted from Manila to the King of Bantam, thence to Holland via the Dutch trading galleons, and finally to Spain through the Spanish agents in the Low Countries. The retarded communication of news was due, in this case no doubt, to the precautions which Bónifaz took to prevent any report of his own accession to power from leaving the colony. His purpose, of course, was to prolong his dictatorship. In order to effect this, he suppressed all trade with the Dutch in 1668, and forbade the departure of the Dutch ships which were in the harbor at the time of Salcedo's arrest, until the middle of January, 1669.—Letter of an unknown official, January 15, 1669, BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 46.

[44] Report of Coloma to the Council of the Indies, November 10, 1668. *A. I.*, 67-6-3. This investigation has already been referred to in this paper.

he had been authorized to arrest Governor Salcedo and calling attention to the danger of suddenly removing the governor of a colony as isolated as the Philippines, without providing for his successor. Finally, the Council of the Inquisition was reminded that as governors were the representatives of the royal person, their positions in the colonies were inviolable, and they should not be interfered with on slight pretexts.[45]

The Supreme Council of the Inquisition made reply to the above *consulta* on October 14, 1670. It stated that Paternina was known to Juan Everardo, Inquisitor General and Confessor to His Majesty, and that he had all the necessary qualifications for the post of commissary. The arrest of Salcedo, according to this letter, had been accomplished with all the characteristic expedition and quietness of the methods of the Inquisition. It was admitted that this arrest had not been authorized by the Tribunal of Mexico, but even so, the latter body would have been under no obligation to inform the viceroy of its resolution. In regard to the future, no further directions were necessary, as all commissaries and other servants of the Inquisition were provided with instructions designed to cope with every possible contingency. These regulations, the Supreme Council admitted, ordered that governors and viceroys should not be arrested unless that tribunal first authorized the act. Nevertheless, it stated, cases might arise wherein delay would work great harm and in these the commissaries were accustomed to proceed on their own responsibility.[46]

The Council replied to this communication on October 17, 1670. It criticized the governmental system which would allow an inexperienced, vengeful and perhaps fanatical *mozo religioso* thirty-four years of age, to imprison a governor who represented the royal authority, and completely upset the civil government, endangering the peace and security of a distant colony, exposing it to danger of attack a d loss at the hands of the foreign enemies who surrounded it. It charged that the Inquisition was ruled by laws and regulations which had been devised for an

[45] *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, September 22, 1670. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

[46] Council of the Inquisition to Council of the Indies, October 14, 1670. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

earlier age, and for conditions which were no longer extant. In Spain, where the provinces were only a few days' journey from the capital, it might be possible for a commissary to consult with his superior before arresting a governor, but in the Philippines, three thousand leagues distant from the mother country, this was impossible. Nor should a commissary decide alone whether an arrest were necessary. In future cases, therefore, if advice could not be obtained from the tribunal in Mexico, the Council of the Indies recommended that the Archbishop or Vicar-General in *sede vacante* should be consulted, and ample provisions should be made to avoid the disturbances and dangers which had arisen on this occasion. The Council also advised the Inquisition of the desirability of exercising care and judgment in the selection of its inquisitors.[47]

The testimony transmitted by Governor de León from Manila on June 10, 1670, was received in the Council of the Indies in April, 1671. As already stated, this was the first accurate and unbiased information which the Council had obtained relative to the Salcedo affair, and in regard to the usurpation of the government by Bónifaz. As was customary on such occasions, the *autos* of the case were handed to the *fiscal* of the Council for his opinion before action by the Council; the papers were returned on May 9, and on the twenty-second of the same month the Council rendered its decision on the basis of the recommendations of the *fiscal*. The conduct of Paternina not only in this act but during the entire period of his service as commissary was characterized in the decision as scandalous. Salcedo's commercial excesses were admitted, but they were not held to constitute any justification whatever for the intervention of the Inquisition. The persons who aided the commissary were declared by the Council to be disappointed and ambitious office-seekers, avaricious and revengeful merchants, fanatical friars, and persons acting under the threat of ecclesiastical censure. The story of the governor's intention to leave the Islands surreptitiously and deliver the colony to the Dutch was declared to be fiction. The Council admitted its ignorance of the secret reasons for the governor's

[47] *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, October 17, 1670. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

arrest, but whatever they were, they should have been passed upon by the tribunal in Mexico before so radical a step was taken as the public disgrace of the king's representative.[48]

The fact that Paternina had acted without instructions, which had been admitted already by the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in its communication of October 14, 1670, was further confirmed by receipt of two letters from the Viceroy of New Spain and the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Mexico, dated January 18 and January 10, 1671, respectively. The viceroy, in his letter, stated that he had received no declaration of the intentions of the tribunal to order the arrest of the governor. This statement was corroborated by the tribunal, which had just received notice of these events, all of which it declared to be "new and strange." It confessed that it was utterly confused by the accounts which had come to it, though no statement as yet had been received from Paternina. The tribunal realized its responsibility for the commissary's acts and was aware of its obligation to report to the king and to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition on the events which had occurred. No account could be given at the time, however, but letters were expected daily from Acapulco—and they would no doubt throw light on the situation. In view of this state of affairs, the tribunal had requested that the viceroy should hold the *navio de aviso* a few days until the reports in question could be received and an opinion formulated. Apparently the expected papers did not arrive.

On May 30, 1671, the Council of the Indies forwarded this new evidence, recently arrived from Mexico, to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, repeating its former observations relative to the need of reforming the procedure of the Inquisition in the colonies and urging the necessity of obviating further abuses of the kind.[49] It judged Paternina to be unfit for the responsible post of commissary and recommended his removal.

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[48] Opinion of the *Fiscal* of the Council of the Indies, May 9, 1671; *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, May 22, 1671. (*A. I.*, 67-6-3.) This *consulta* states that "the residents of the Philippines now say that they have at least learned how to put an end to a governor" and that "commissaries are of more account than governors or king's ministers."

[49] *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, May 30, 1671. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

The Council of the Indies stated that in view of the harm done to His Majesty's government by the commissary, that tribunal had full authority and power to act in this matter, but that it desired to spare the Holy Inquisition from suffering the loss of prestige in the colony which would certainly occur were Paternina removed by the civil government. The Council repeated the recommendation which it first made in the *consulta* of October 17, 1670, that in future cases of an exceptional character the archbishop or ecclesiastical ordinary should be consulted before the commissaries might make arrests.[50]

Various other *consultas* were celebrated by the respective councils of the Inquisition and Indies, with little result other than the reiteration of what had already been decreed in former resolutions. On May 30, 1671, the Council of the Inquisition wrote that Paternina had acted with sufficient justification in the arrest of Salcedo, since that governor's open defiance of the faith had been notorious. This tribunal repeated its former statement that in extraordinary cases such as this one the commissary might proceed without the authority of the Tribunal of Mexico. In its reply of June 20, 1671, the Council of the Indies repeated its former manifestations of dissent with this opinion, stating clearly and peremptorily that the agents of the Inquisition must not arrest governors or viceroys on their own responsibility. In this *consulta* the Council also mentioned having received Paternina's report of January 17, 1669, characterizing it as tardily made and tardily received. This report, the Council stated, had barely mentioned the fact of the governor's arrest, without relating any of the circumstances or giving any justification for the act.

[50] *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, May 30, 1670. *A. I.*, 67-6-3. Paternina was deprived of his post by the Tribunal of Mexico on June 4, 1671. He was ordered to return to Spain to answer charges and the costs of his deportation were paid by the Augustinian order, 2,000 pesos being collected from that order by Fray Felipe Pardo, the new commissary. A vigorous complaint was made by Fray Manuel de León, Provincial of the Augustinians in the Philippines on May 14, 1673, against the injustice of this requirement, especially in view of the fact that his predecessor, Fray Alonzo Quijano, had repeatedly protested against the continuance of Paternina as Commissary of the Inquisition, on account of his unfitness for the post. (*A. I.*, 68-1-44.) Paternina ultimately met the same fate as the man he had ruined, dying at sea in 1674, while on the way to New Spain to answer charges before the Tribunal of the Inquisition there.

The Council especially commented on the absence of any statement in Paternina's report to the effect that the commissary had acted with the previous authorization of the tribunal, or of any allusion to a preliminary consultation with a bishop, archbishop, vicar-general, or even with the provincial of his own order or of the Jesuits. The Council inferred from this that he had acted in the heat of passion and hence his actions were reprehensible, for he not only showed a great lack of respect for His Majesty, but he had also failed to manifest the proper appreciation of the sanctity of the Holy Inquisition when he employed it as a vehicle of personal vengeance. The Council concluded by referring again to its recommendations, made on two former occasions, designed to prevent a repetition of such abuses, this time insisting that the reforms should be put into immediate effect. In pursuance of these oft repeated suggestions, a *cédula* was issued on June 22, 1671, ordering that commissaries should ordinarily not make arrests except by the authority of their tribunals, but in cases which demanded immediate action they should consult beforehand with the archbishops or the vicars-general in *sede vacante*. Special orders were also given to viceroys and governors to see that this law was observed, informing them at the same time that they were not to obey the summons of commissaries unless the latter complied with the prescribed law.[51]

Although Salcedo's commercial abuses were admitted by the home government, his arrest, imprisonment and exile by the Commissary of the Inquisition were condemned on the grounds that the latter had acted without the proper authority from his superiors. Considerable difficulty was experienced in bringing the Supreme Council of the Inquisition to share this point of view and discountenance the acts of the commissary, because of the undesirability of setting precedents which would affect future relations between the Inquisition and the civil govern-

[51] *Cédula* of June 22, 1671, *A. I.*, 67-6-3. This law was followed by the *consulta* of July 16, 1674, which was especially addressed to the Philippines, prescribing that commissaries and governors in the Philippines should mutually show each other the respect which was due to their offices and especially that the former, in the execution of his duties, should take no rash steps which would endanger the peace and security of the Islands. *A. I.*, 67-6-11.

ment. However, the tribunal of Mexico, which was more familiar with the facts, and which had immediate jurisdiction over the case, promptly condemned its agent and cancelled his acts before the ruling of the Supreme Council was received.

Considered as a conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, or between Church and State, the commissary was triumphant in the colony because he was able to utilize secret methods and extraordinary powers which could not be successfully met or opposed; but in the final test of authority between the Council of the Indies and the Council of the Inquisition, the former was able to secure the punishment of the offending commissary, the disavowal of his acts, and, what was still more important, a reform of the law which would prevent a repetition of such abuses in the future. The chief concern of the Council of the Indies in the entire affair was the maintenance of the royal prerogative, the preservation of the dignity of the office of governor as the representative of the king, its inviolability in the eyes of all subjects, and finally, the maintenance in the Philippines of a government which would adequately uphold the prestige of Spain. The chief sin of the commissary had been that of disgracing the representative of the royal person, and furthermore that of weakening the government and exposing the Islands to the attack of outside enemies.

Aside from these considerations, the Salcedo affair and succeeding events demonstrated the antiquated character of the Inquisition as an instrument of government in the Spanish colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its presence illustrated the tendency of Spain to retain her old institutions even though they were no longer serviceable, instead of eliminating them as other nations had done.[52] It exhibited the

[52] In the eighteenth century the Inquisition lost its position of supremacy. On August 2, 1748, a decree was promulgated whereby chanceries, audiencias and *corregidores* were authorized to prevent inquisitorial commissaries and tribunals from maltreating their own prisoners. This same law provided for the punishment by the civil courts of inquisitors who contravened this law (Pérez y López, *Teatro*, xxviii, 207). This was in reality the first law which gave the civil courts the power necessary to restrain the acts of the Inquisition. By the law of August 10, 1788, jurisdiction over the crime of bigamy and over cases involving the infraction of the marriage relation was given to the civil courts (*Recopilación*, 1-19-4). By the *cedula*

glaring defect of the retention of a system in the modern age wherein the reins of government could be violently seized by ambitious friars, corrupt merchants and office-seekers, and wherein affairs of state and religion were still hopelessly confused. It typified the projection of fifteenth-century governmental machinery, methods and ideas into the modern age, and illustrates Spain's failure to adjust herself to modern conditions. Nevertheless, this episode brought home to the Spanish government the need of a change, and it actually resulted in the reform

of December 12, 1807, authority was given to the royal justices to receive inquisitors to inspect their titles, to assign them to their districts and to exercise such authority as would prevent the presence of an excessive number of these functionaries. The magistrates of the audiencias were especially instructed to act as the guardians of the royal prerogative in dealing with the representatives of the Inquisition, and to report to the governors or viceroys on all their relations with them. This *cédula*, repeated the principle that the activities of inquisitors should be limited to matters of the faith and that all cases treated by them might be appealed to the tribunals and ultimately to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition without the intervention of the civil government (*Recopilación*, 1-19, note 1).

The tendency toward restriction of the power of the Inquisition culminated in the decree of February 22, 1813, which suppressed the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, and bestowed upon bishops and vicars authority over cases involving the faith. It was ordered that all property belonging to the Inquisition should revert to the crown. Soon after the restoration of Ferdinand VII the Inquisition was revived, against the will of that monarch, it is said, but it was again abolished by the decrees of March 9, 1820 and July 1 (or July 15), 1834. Its property was reserved for the payment of the public debt, and, as in the former decree of extinction, its authority over cases involving the faith was transferred to the bishops.

As a result of the suppression of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition on March 9, 1820, and the transfer of its authority over matters of faith to the vicars and bishops, Escriche, in his *Diccionario de la Legislación Española*, says that "in the exercise of their jurisdiction some of these prelates exceeded their authority and established in their respective dioceses *juntas de fé* which proved to be inquisitorial tribunals with the same authority which the former tribunals had exercised of inflicting punishments, spiritual as well as corporal, and of guarding in their ministry the most inviolable secrecy." As soon as reports of these unjustifiable abuses came to the notice of the government, Ferdinand hastened to order the suppression of these unauthorized tribunals, without immediate success, however. Escriche tells us that the local tribunals continued their excesses, "depriving accused persons of the means of defense, keeping from them the names of witnesses testifying against them" and flagrantly disregarding the dispositions of the brief of Pius VII, dated October 5, 1820, which forbade such abuses of power. The Spanish Government made another attempt to deal with the situation on February 6, 1830, when it authorized appeals in questions relative to the faith, before different magistrates until three conforming decisions were reached. The decree of July 1, 1835, finally abolished these special tribunals, ordering the prelates to exercise jurisdiction with appeal to the Department of Grace and Justice. ESCRICHE, *Diccionario*, I, 773.

of June 22, 1671, which considerably limited the power and authority of the Inquisition in arresting governors and viceroys, thus making a repetition of such abuses impossible in the future.[53]

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[53] Attention should be called to the error in the note on page 317 of LEA's *Inquisition in the Spanish Colonies*, which reads as follows: "It is perhaps worth while remarking that Juan de la Concepcion makes no allusion to this episode (referring to the Salcedo affair), so prominent in the history of the Colony and so little creditable to his Augustinian order." Two chapters of the *Historia General de Philipinas*, by CONCEPCIÓN (Volume VII, Chapters VI and VIII, pages 130 to 144 and 162 to 200) are devoted to an account of Salcedo's alleged excesses and government, his difficulties with the archbishop, his arrest and imprisonment by the commissary, and the succeeding events.

MISCELLANY

THE EARLIEST KNOWN MESOPOTAMIAN TRAVELLER IN AMERICA

An account of a journey into America, in the years 1668-1683, by the Rev. Elias Hanna, a Chaldean Catholic priest of the Diocese of Mossoul, in Mesopotamia.

It was somewhat of a surprise to the writer a few years ago when he came across in the Arabic monthly, *Al-Mashrig* (*The Orient*), published by the Jesuit Fathers of the University of Beyrouth, Syria, a series of articles describing the journey of a Catholic Chaldean priest to America in the years 1668–1683. No one had ever suspected that a Catholic priest, hailing from the distant cities of Mossoul and Bagdad, and as early as 1668, and with the explicit approbation of the Spanish government and the recommendation of the Holy See, should or could have undertaken such a long, arduous and perilous journey to the New World. It had long been the intention of the present writer to publish an English translation of this remarkable Arabic manuscript, but the difficulty of identifying the hundreds of Spanish and South American geographical and personal names, so carelessly transliterated and so badly disfigured in their Arabic form, deterred him from the undertaking. However, at the request of the Rev. Dr. Guilday he submits here a brief sketch of the contents of the work in the hope that it may prove of interest to the readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW.

The manuscript in question was discovered in 1905, in the episcopal library of the Syrian Catholic Church in Aleppo, Syria, by a Jesuit Father, Antoun Rabbât, and published by him in the *Mashriq*. (Vol. viii, pp. 821*ff*, 875*ff*, 931*ff*, 974*ff*, 1022*ff*, 1080*ff* and 1118*ff*.) It is about 8 by 6 inches in size, containing 269 pages, 21 lines to the page. The narrative of the journey proper occupies the first one hundred pages. From pp. 100–214 we have a short history, in 17 chapters, of the discovery of America and a description of its inhabitants, customs, etc. The last part of the manuscript, viz., from pp. 214–269, contains the account of a journey to France undertaken in 1719, by a certain Sa'id Basha, Turkish Ambassador to that country. Our manuscript is not the original, but a fairly well written copy made of the original by a certain Gabriel ibn Joseph Qurmuz, in the year 1819, and belongs to the Maronite Hanna ibn Diyab, of Aleppo.

The author of the journey was a Catholic priest of the Chaldean Church, of the diocese of Mossoul in Mesopotamia. His full name

appears as Father Elias, the son of Father Hanna, the Mausulite (*i. e.*, from Mossoul), and of the family of Beth-'Ammûda.

Our traveller started his journey from Bagdad in 1668 with the avowed intention of visiting the Holy Land, and, after spending some time in the city of Aleppo, he sailed from Alexandretta to Italy. From there he journeyed to France, Spain, Portugal, Sicily and again to Spain. Having obtained the proper credentials from the Holy See and from the Spanish government, he sailed from Cadiz to America and, after a voyage of fifty-five days, landed at Carthagena in South America. From there he travelled through Panama and almost the whole western coast, through Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile, whence he returned, in 1680, to Lima, in Peru. It was in this last city that our traveller composed the narrative of his journey, which forms the first part of the work. In 1680, he travelled through Mexico and Central America, where he spent a considerable time. In 1683, he started his journey back to Spain and Rome, where he was cordially received by Pope Innocent XI.

Of the author nothing else is known. The object of his journey, judging from the few vague allusions in his narrative, seems to have been that of collecting funds for the poor and needy churches and dioceses of his country.

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DOCUMENTS

BRASSAC'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE AMERICAN BISHOPS (1818–1861)[1]

(Contributed by the Most Reverend Archbishop Messmer)

I

Brassac's Letter to Bishop Du Bourg

Donaldsonville, April 30th, 1825.

Your Lordship & Dear Father:

I would consider it a lack of duty, did I neglect to inform you of the manner in which Holy Week has been spent in the parish that it pleased Your Grace to confide in my care. Moreover, I consider myself bound to give this public testimony of the piety of most of my parishioners.

During Lent I gave my usual mission services in the farthest sections of the parish, although a large number of persons had already made their Easter duty with great edification. On Palm Sunday after the sermon I announced the hours of the various ceremonies during the following days. From Tuesday on, some twenty women and young ladies made it their duty to arrange everything for the Repository which was to be placed under the large entrance of the Church. Indeed, it was not a bit less remarkable than many altars of this kind in the cities of our native land. Four columns ornamented with branches of oak supported the great white Baldachino surrounded by flowers and green plants. Lower down was a portable Baldachino, crimson velvet, ornamented with gold fringes; five oval shells supported a niche, very elegant in its plainness. Here the Blessed Sacrament was to be placed. The Altar also was decorated with natural and artificial flowers; and a great number of candles gave to all the rest an aspect most touching and at the same time most impressive.

Wednesday I spent nearly all in the confessional. The next morning I was there again with break of day. At 8 o'clock I gave Holy Communion and preached on the disposition of the Soul, with which every Christian must approach this awful mystery. At 10 o'clock I began the services. The Church was filled. Procession followed with much solemnity. Four trustees (*Marguilliers*), who had received Communion in the morning, carried the Baldachino. Before me walked the Chanter and Sacristan in surplice and some twenty choir boys in red cassocks. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon I preached for an hour on the Institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the great devotion it demanded of us. With the beginning of the night we sang the *Stabat*. Then followed the rosary and an act of reparation to the Blessed Sacrament. The Church was again filled as in the morning. Towards 10 o'clock we had night prayers. All night through, until daylight, the people came in considerable numbers, notwithstanding the rain, which fell in torrents. Men as well as women came to offer their adoration to their God. With sweetest satisfaction I saw nearly all the French inhabitants of our small city make their visits in Church. Some of them passed the whole night there and mingled their voices in the chanting of the Canticles, which only ceased on giving way to public prayers or pious reading. Towards midnight I retired to rest a little to prepare myself for the morning.

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[1] These documents form the archival material for Archbishop Messmer's article on Father Brassac, to be found on pages 392–416 of this issue.

With daybreak I was in the confessional. The services began at 8 o'clock. Before the ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross I preached on the Passion, and I had the consolation to see all that were in Church (for it was filled) approach and devoutly kiss the sign of our redemption. In view of the repeated request made to me, I consented to leave the Blessed Sacrament in the Repository until the afternoon. At 3 o'clock I preached the three hours' agony of our Lord. In the intervals between the exaltations and meditations which I gave, the ladies sang the hymn *To the Blood which God will shed*. After this devotion they sang the *Stabat* which was followed by the Rosary and the night prayers. Then I replaced the Blessed Sacrament in the Tabernacle. I am justified in saying that all this chanting, the loud prayers and public readings, never ceased for fully two hours, and I feel confident that the most hardened heart could not have witnessed without being deeply moved, a spectacle so touching and so pious. Sometimes I felt bound to tell some of the people that they should leave the Church and go to take something and get some rest.

We had services on Saturday morning; but I could not give any instructions, as I had to reserve my strength for the following day. The afternoon I spent in the confessional.

On Easter Sunday at 8 o'clock, I said early Mass, preached and gave Holy Communion to a great number of people. At 10 o'clock, I sang the High Mass, and preached on the Resurrection. The Church could not hold the crowds, and after Mass there were several Baptisms. For the next fortnight I was played out and hoarse; but the piety of these good people kept up my strength and courage.

Here then, Your Grace, is an exact report of what has been done. Your own knowledge of our parish will help you duly to appreciate the piety that reigns there. What in my view adds great merit to it all, especially during the last week, is the excessive rain that fell, and the bad roads on which the people had to come for two or three leagues. The number of Easter Communions is about the same as last year. However, I wish to let you know that four or five persons, who for a long time (one for 22 years), had not approached the Sacrament, saw their wrong, repented of it and came to partake of Holy Easter Communion, to the great edification of the parish.

I beg of you, my Dear Father, that in your prayers and the Holy sacrifices you will remember the flock which you have entrusted to me, and that you will pray the Lord to give me all the graces I need.

Very respectfully, your unworthy child,

HERCULES BRASSAC.

II

Brassac's Letters to Rosati

St. Louis, le 15 9bre, 1818.

Monsieur et bien cher ami:

C'est pour le coup que vous vous facheriez tout net si j'étais assez insouciant que de laisser partir Mr Casto[1] et D'Aubert[2] sans vous dire un bon jour ou bon soir, je ne sais trop lequel: vous avez du rire du billet que je vous fis passer il y a huit

[1] Casto Gonzalez, a Spaniard who came from Rome with the band of Father De Andreis; had just been ordained subdeacon at St. Genevieve, on November 1, 1818, the same day as Father Brassac was raised to the priesthood, and thence had gone up to St. Louis with Bishop Du Bourg.

[2] Daubert. One of the first boys of the College at the *Barrens*.

jours par M. P. Tucker. Je vous avoue que j'avais presque la colique quand je vous l'ecrivis; mais heureusement que Mr Prat[3] arriva dans la nuit. Mgr m'a installé dans mon poste mardi matin. Nous sommes ici depuis mercredi matin. J'en serais parti hier de grand matin si le vent ne s'était opposé à mon passage. Nous partirons je crois demain avec Mr le Curé des Barrens, Mr Valezano. Mr Caretti a été administré hier matin.[4] Mr Dahmen a bien mal aux yeux. Hier on l'a amusé avec des emethiques, une saignée et un vesicatoire. Adieu, Mon cher Monsieur, croyex à l'estime, au respect et à l'amitié de

Vôtre très devoué serviteur,

Hle Brassac.

J'espère que si vous allez à St Louis vous voudrez bien m'honorer de votre visite. Je suis à 5 milles de la prairie du Rocher, sur le grand chemin chez Mr Raphael Drury.

On board *The Maid of Orleans*, Captn Turner,
May the 15th, 1819.

Revd and Dear Sir.

Mr Perrodin through a mistake, put in a trunk of mine a long letter which I had written and directed to you, & he did not perceive it till it was no more time to get it out; its object was to inform you about my departure from the upper part of this diocese; you have probably heard that from our Rt Revd and most beloved Bishop: I wish I had had a horse of my own, when he went to the Barrens, I would have asked him for the favor of accompanying him as far as yr settlement, to enjoy the pleasure of both of being with his lordship a little longer, and of bidding you my Adieu; when will we see us one the other, and renew that happy acquaintance which Almighty God permitted us to get, 18 months ago; alas! I know nothing about it, you neither, God alone can see in the time to come; that enormous distance which will separate me from the father of this mission, and from the worthy coöperators he has secured in this part of the country shall be very painful to my feelings. Yet, in spite of that sacrifice, which a more pious priest would find less hard, I obey the orders of my superiors without any murmur even without the least objection, being in hope that my submission will obtain from God some graces, which would not have been bestowed upon me; I do not want to recommend myself to yr prayers and holy sacrifices; the experience you have had during our staying together has undoubtedly made you acquainted with all my wants on that account; think on him who will never forget you, & who prays you to depend on the sincerity of the sentiment of respect, and friendship with which I shall always be Dear Sir

of yr Reverence the obedient servant and unchangeable friend

Hle Brassac
Cathol. Missy.

Remember me to all yr community especially to MM. Maenhaut, Barrau, D'Aubert & De Geither. Mr De Andreis and all other gentlemen are hearty and mingle the expression of their respective sentiment to those which I have expressed above for my own part.

St Charles of Opelousas, june 27th 1820

Rev. and Dear Sir.

You certainly think that Brassac has forgotten you, since he has not yet given you any sign of life. I grant to my confusion that my silence is much prejudicing

[3] Father Pratte, Pastor of St. Genevieve.
[4] He died December 3, 1818, at St. Louis.

against myself; because tho' I might alledge very good reasons to justify it, there are great many to be found to condemn it. Therefore I will not attempt to apologize for it, but confessing the little negligence I may be guilty of in that respect I will trust on your goodness and indulgence for my pardon.

I arrived at S^{t} Charles' on the first of june 1819. From that day till december I spent my time in sikness, recovering, relapses and troubles of every kind. Almighty God in his mercy deigned to give me a share of crosses, and tribulations; I suffered not as much as I deserved, but as much as I could bear; calumnies, on the most delicate matters, evil constructions put on the most innocent of my actions, my zeal for the glory of Religion taxed of hypocrisy, &c. . . . nothing has been spared, during more than eight months, to try my little virtue; I begin to see an opening to a more quiet existence, and to enjoy some consolations; the flock entrusted to my care is made up with people of all nations, Americans, french, irish, dutch, spaniards, Danes, Creoles, are to be counted in my congregation. The french and english languages are spoken by the majority: few americans and irish excepted all the rest was plunged in the grossest ignorance, and dulness for their eternal welfare. It was not their fault; they lived at a great distance from the church & they were but very seldom visitated by their pastors. They begin to be a little more anxious to learn their christian duties and their attendance to Mass on sundays is also more regular; it is on those days only that we have the chance of instructing them; they live scattered about, and it is impossible to gather them oftener; they are eager to give some education to their children and by that means Religion gains more because they insist that the catechism may be the first book put in their children's hands. The slaves are in general treated with humanity. But the article of marriage among them is on the same footing as on the cost of the Mississippi.

My church is about the size of that of S^{t} Thomas in Kentucky but framed. It is almost as well furnished and may be better than yours. Besides what I got from S^{t} Louis to adorn, I have received lately from France for the amount of $700, and add the position of the church is the handsomest I ever saw in this country. It is in the most elevated point of a large prairie the prospect of which is very much diversified by the woods which surround it, the plantations which are along the woods, and the numerous ponds full of a very clear water. Add to that the herds of cattle and horses grazing peacebly on it.

The virtuous M^{r} Perrodin lives with me, and has few boarders whom he teaches. My presbitary has been converted into a little Seminary; after the vacations we expect about a dozen of boarders and we intend to open also an out-school. On holidays we have a piano in the church and the voices of three ladies who play and sing equally, latin, french and english himns. But we are extremely poor of musick books; if by the means of y^{r} pupils you were able to have one or two masses, and some of y^{r} english or latin himns at three voices, copied and sent to me directed to the Bishop's Brother in Orleans you should oblige very much.

I will conclude my Rev. and Dear Sir by begging a remembrance in y^{r} fervent prayers and holy sacrifices, and in those of the community, and by renewing to you the assurance of the love, esteem and respect with which I'll always be Rev & D^{r} Sir

Y^{r} m^{t} obed^{t} humble serv^{t} & friend

H^{le} Brassac

Please to remember me to my acquaintances, especially Barro, DeGeither, D'Aubert. I suspect all the other Gentelment in whose company I have been have left the Barrens.

I will be very anxious to hear from you; I have no time to read over my letter. Excuse me. Good bye.

St Charles of Opeloussas, November 24th, 1820

Revd & Dear Sir

The mournful news of the death of the Revd Mr De Andreis, reached me last week in New Orleans. I will not attempt to express to you the feeling which it excited in me and the other Rev. gentelmen of the City. We had been indirectly apprized of the illness of our worthy Superior and were for several days in the greatest anxiety of hearing from St Louis; alas! we did not expect that our impatience would be so dreadfully terminated; after paying to the memory of our late Supr the tribute of our tears and regret, which he was so much entitled to, his eminent sanctity and virtue became the only topic of our conversations for the remainder of the day: what comfort faith is for Christians! in the very moment of our grief it seemed to us that undoubtedly some great good was preparing for this diocese while Almighty God was asking so great a victim; we cannot help seeing the extraordinary change which took place in this Lower Louisianna directly after the death of the three missionnaries who died three years ago in New Orleans: let us join therefore, my Dear Sir, to thank that just hand which is merciful to us even at the time she strikes the hardest blows upon us.

I have condoled with you and our Rt R. Bishop in the loss the rising church in this new country has suffered, and joined my poor prayers to yrs that Almighty God may suscitate some apostolical men to replace the one he was pleased to call to himself. There is to be on this very day a solemn service for Mr De Andreis in the cathedral of New Orleans. I will have one performed in my church in the course of next week.

I had the pleasure of meeting in the city with the Rev. Mr Borgna & renew with him the short acquaintance we had got about two years ago, in the Barrens; he was at Mr Martial's, but as there was nothing in that place which could be of service to him to be restored to his health I offered him to come & spend some time with me in Opeloussas, which he was advised to do by MM. Sibourd, Moni, Jeanjean, etc., and to which he agreed. Tho' I make a very bad country fare, he will be at home with me, and I will neglect nothing in my power to render his staying here as agreable as possible; we enjoy a very pure air and horses are plenty enough that he may take exercise; I live in the middle of a large prairie without any near neighbors in such a manner that we are and may be without any ceremony. As I was in great hurry to get home I left him behind not to fatigue him too much; I expect him to night here.

As I think you have left the Seminary and stay in St Louis I forward my letter to that place; please to give to our Rt Rev. Father & bishop my best respects and take for yrself the assurance of the esteem and respectful attachement of yr

Mt obedt servt & friend

Hle Brassac

Rector of St Charles

P. S. Pray for me I am in the greatest need of it.

S. Genevieve, March 18th, 1823.

Very Reverend and much respected Sir

Since the right Revd Bishop left this quarter to go to the eastwards I had the honour to address him for the purpose of obtaining the permission of absenting myself from my congregations during five or six weeks; and tho' since I wrote about three months have elapsed, I have received no answer whatever, I am afraid my letter has miscarried; the business for which I wish to absent myself demand my presence in Opeloussas towards the end of April next & if I do not go down I must

ose a considerable sum of money, on the account of some debts due me which I could not setle when I left there and which nobody can setle for me now; would you therefore Rev^{d} Sir grant me the permission of going down you would much oblige me and that favor I would highly value: my congregations will miss me but once & before I leave them I will take care to cause them all to perform their Easter duty. I will also observe to y^{r} reverence that I receive no salary from these congregations & therefore think myself less bound in justice to attend to them at the great detriment of my interest. I would like very much to go down with the rev^{d} M^{r} Borgna: please to forward y^{r} answer to M^{r} Dahmen who will be kind enough to send it to me.

Please to remind me to all the Gentelmen of the Seminary & believe me for ever with great respect & affection

Very Reverend Sir

Y^{r} most humble obed^{t} serv^{t} & unworthy friend

H^{le} Brassac

DONALDSONVILLE, JAN. 26TH, 1824. "The Rev. Mr. Janvier whom I succeeded in this parish," etc. "I am extremely sorry, Right Rev. Sir, not to have it in my power to advance the money due you. I myself very much involved at this time, and I owe yet my provisions of last year and will be obliged to take the necessary ones on credit, if I am not better paid than I have been heretofore." Brassac offers his congratulations to Rosati on his election as coadjutor, and the sentiments to which he will give full vent "when I shall have the honor to receive you in my poor cabin. . . . Our most worthy bishop is still unwell; I saw him this morning."

NEW YORK, NOV. 18TH, 1831. They are still at Sandy Hook but expect to land on the 20th of Nov. Sorry that he cannot go to St. Louis to greet the bishop, but is afraid of the climate. Hence he will go straight to New Orleans. "True to my standard I return to it. If I have been so long away from it, it is due to circumstances that were stronger than I. But since they allowed me to leave my Fatherland, I have come back to place myself under its shadow. . . . I shall no longer find there the old chief[5] under whom I bore my first arms, not even the one whom providence had so wisely given him to bear part of his solicitude.[6] But he who succeeds to them? for a long time my esteem and my respect.[7] Hence it will be sweet for me to offer him the assurance of my submission. If I can, my intention is to visit next Spring Missouri and Illinois to see again my old friends and the (?) theatre of my first efforts in the apostolic career."

P. S. "I left Bishop Dubourg in good health at Paris. Mgr. Dubuis of New York came across in the same boat with me accompanied by Rev. Mr. McGerry whose acquaintance we made at Emmitsburg."

LOUISVILLE, JAN. 12TH, 1832. "After a month's waiting we are at last on the eve of our departure. Navigation is opening and we expect to leave tomorrow for Louisiana. Fatigued by the journey from Cincinnati we came here twenty-eight days ago, where I had the happiness of meeting with good Mr. Abell, the

[5] Du Bourg.
[6] Rosati.
[7] De Neckere and Brassac came to America together in 1817.

worthy and amiable Bishop Flaget whom an influencer a la mode kept here since the consecration of the new church of this city. . . . Last Sunday in order to please friend Abell I had to preach to his numerous and ever growing congregation. You may imagine what it cost me to speak publicly in a language which for six years I had entirely lost. The bishop urged me very much to stay in his diocese and help Rev. Abell in his pastoral work. I was strongly tempted to do it, but I decided to return and put myself at the orders of Bishop De Neckere. . . . I have tried in vain to hear something of my old and respected friend Mrs. Smith. You know my friendship for her and the many obligations under which I am to her. Will you kindly give me some news of her?"

BATON ROUGE, APR. 10TH, 1832. "I have been much surprised at your kind offer to serve in your diocese. The Archbishop and the Bishops of Baltimore, New York, Cincinnati and Bardstown have already urged me to join their diocese. But I considered it my duty first to present myself to my Ordinary and, as he may well need me, not to go elsewhere."

BATON ROUGE, AUG. 29TH, 1832. "Mgr. De Neckere and Mr. Blanc arrived here in good health. The latter spent the Feast of H. Assumption with me. . . . Some people had expected to see him arrive in mitre and crozier. For my part I was not surprised as I knew from himself what his intentions were.[8]

DONALDSONVILLE, Aug. 20TH, 1835. "After six days navigation I arrived happily at Donaldsonville at half past eleven o'clock at night on the 11th inst. . . . However contented I found myself at St. Louis I felt that my affairs there were finished. I was no more at my place, and my duty as well as desire commanded me to return to my post and again to take up my responsibility. Were it not for this, Monsignor, I believe I would be (?) with you, so much was I pleasantly edified by the conduct so full of zeal and regularity of the clergy of St. Louis, which seems to me destined to effect in that vast country a moral revolution for the great benefit of religion and for the glory of God." Brassac then speaks of the opposition in New Orleans to Rev. Blanc. "I understand that during my absence they tried to make him believe that I also was against him. I will not even attempt to justify and clear myself of such a calumny. You know my sentiments on this subject, and he himself need only recall our conversations on it. I leave it all to God, and go my way en vieux bonhomme."

DONALDSONVILLE, May 31ST, 1836. "Bishop Blanc has left directly for Havre on the 29th of April at 10:00 o'clock P. M. Things here don't go as well as one might wish. I was on the point of looking for an asylum with you and to offer you my feeble services in the ministry. I have in fact offered and given my resignation to the bishop; but he would not accept it. However, I presume that upon his return, unless things here are settled, I shall renew my resignation and that it will be accepted."

DONALDSONVILLE, JUNE 15TH, 1836. "I told you two words of my little

[8] Blanc had without his own knowledge been appointed coadjutor to Bishop De Neckere the same year; but he returned the bulls to Rome.

difficulty with Bishop Blanc who would not accept my resignation. I would have insisted more strongly, had it not been just when he was departing, and that he did not have priests enough. I think he will bring an abundance of them with him and I shall then feel more free to retire. Where? I don't know at all as yet, probably to Europe. I am disgusted where the good one tries to do is reduced to so little, and yet where the responsibility is so terrible. On the other hand, I foresee that I shall not get along well with the new administration to which Mr. Bone has decidedly joined himself." Brassac asks Rosati for his advice.

DONALDSONVILLE, SEPT. 4TH, 1836. Brassac repeats that he is determined to leave.

III.

Extracts from Brassac's Letters to Bishop Purcell.

PARIS, JULY 4, 1839. "Bishop Flaget will sail with you. . . . Your company will be composed of Mr. Machebeuf, who is now with you, and Messrs. Lamy (now very well), Gacon, Gemal, Navaron, Father Huber. Mgr. de Janson will come with us to Havre to bid you farewell, but will not embark."[9]

MARVÉJOLS (LOZÈRE), AUGUST 2, 1839. His emotions when taking leave of Bishop Purcell at Havre. . . . Bishop Rese sailed from England to Antwerp to meet there his Vicar General M. de Bruyn.[10] The latter took . . . his way to the United States, while the former went to Paris where he stayed a couple of weeks, lodged in a public hotel, but where he saw neither the Archbishop nor any of his clergy. . . . The impression of Mr. Desnoyers,[11] the bishop's travelling companion from Detroit, was that Bishop Rese would not return if he could obtain some other appointment in Rome. . . . "Two days after leaving Paris, I met our friend Mr. Beauprez[12] with carpet bag in his arms,

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[9] Very Rev. John McGill, then Vicar General of Bishop Flaget, but later (1850–1872) Bishop of Richmond, was also of the party. Their voyage on the *Sylvie de Grasse*, which left Havre July 9th and arrived at New York on August 21st, with various incidents of ocean travel, is very entertainingly told in Machebeuf's letter to his father, written on board the vessel. See *Life of Bishop Machebeuf*, by Rev. W. J. Howlett, p. 56*ff*. Of the first missionary labors of these young priests in the Diocese of Cincinnati, at Tiffin and Sandusky (Machebeuf), at Newark and Mt. Vernon (Lamy), at the French Settlement (Navaron), at St. Martin's (Gacon and Cheymol) [Gemal is a wrong spelling], see pp. 63–156. Rev. Projectus Jos. Machebeuf, born 1812, ordained 1836, consecrated Vicar Apostolic of Colorado, 1868, died Bishop of Denver, 1889. Rev. J. B. Lamy (later Archbishop of Santa Fe, died 1888) had been very sick before sailing and was just recovering from his illness. Rev. Francis Ludwig Huber, O.S.F., was assistant priest at Holy Trinity Church, Cincinnati, from 1839 till 1848, when his name is no longer found in the *Catholic Almanac*. He had been highly esteemed as an excellent priest and vigorous preacher and writer in Bavaria, and was a regular contributor to the *Wahrheitsfreund* of Cincinnati.

[10] De Bruyn was born at Liége, Belgium. Having been ordained in 1832, he came to Detroit the next year. For some time he was stationed at Arbre Croche. The *Almanac* of 1836 places him at St. Joseph's in Detroit. In 1837 and 1838 he was prefect of studies and president of St. Philip's College, in Detroit, later called St. Philip's University. He was Vicar General of the Diocese of Detroit from 1837 until his death in 1839.

[11] Was this the old pioneer Desnoyers, born in France in 1773? He came first to Gallipolis, then to Pittsburgh, and later to Detroit. In 1839 he was State Treasurer of Michigan. He died in Detroit, March 6, 1880.

[12] Rev. D. Beauprez was pastor of Baton Rouge, La., from 1834–1838 and thus a neighbor of Father Brassac.

alighting from the stage-coach, who had made up his mind to return to Louisiana, and will probably sail on the *Great Western*."

MARVÉJOLS, OCT. 20, 1839. Brassac writes, that he reminded the Baroness Terese de Coppens of Belgium to pay Bishop Purcell the 10,000 francs, which her mother left for the Sisters' convent at Cincinnati. He tells that the new plans adopted at the general council of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart held in Rome, would delay for a while the departure of the colony of these Ladies intended for Cincinnati; that this procrastination must be quite a disappointment to Bishop Purcell, who had planned to start the establishment immediately. He is sorry that Bishop Purcell did not take with him some sisters of Notre Dame of Namur, who seemed to be ready to go and would be particularly fitted for the people of the West. . . . Mr. Jeanjean[13] left France a week ago with several Lazarists and one or two clergymen for New Orleans. . . . "I heard with a great deal of regret the death of our much respected friend Bishop Bruté. . . . Msgr. Janson must be with you by this time."[14] Brassac is inclined to settle in Paris, "if I can find a suitable situation. . . . Please pray for me at the altar, that I may not be condemned to be a useless servant to my God, and favor me with your advise. Your friendship is so dear to me," etc.

MARVÉJOLS, JAN. 14, 1840. Brassac speaks of a mission given at this

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[13] Rev. Augustine Jeanjean, C.M., came from Europe with Bishop Du Bourg and was first appointed with Rev. A. Blanc to Vincennes on April 25, 1818. They went there on June 1. Jeanjean was to found a college there, but through the opposition of the so-called "Vincennes Faction," the attempt failed; hence, in January, 1819 Bishop Du Bourg recalled Jeanjean and sent him to New Orleans. See *Life of Bishop Flaget*, pp. 177*ff*. At the I Prov. Council Balt., 1829, he was theologian for Bishop Rosati. After the Council, he and Blanc accompanied Bishop Rosati to Boston in the month of November to visit Bishop Fenwick. At the II Prov. Council at Balt., 1833, he represented the vacant Diocese of New Orleans. While Rosati was Administrator of New Orleans, Jeanjean often acted as his Pro-Secretary. (A. C. H. S., *Records*, Vol. xix, p. 308.) In Spring of 1835, Jeanjean, then intending to go to Europe, accompanied Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati on his last visitation to the northern part of his diocese in Michigan. When the Bishop took sick at Michillimakinak, he asked Jeanjean to visit the missions in the prairies and at the Green Bay. (See HENNI, *Ein Blick in das Ohio Thal*, p. 62; *Annales*, vi, p. 138.) He was secretary of the diocesan synod of New Orleans, February, 1832, under Bishop De Neckere. From a letter of Jeanjean to Rosati, September 20th, 1830, it seems that the latter expected to visit San Domingo that same year and wished Jeanjean to accompany him. Bishop England wanted to take Jeanjean with him as Secretary on his mission to Hayti in 1833; but the latter was not ready to go (A. C. H. S. *Records*, vii, pp. 470–473). In May, 1832, he accompanied Bishop Rosati to Rome (*Ibid.*, xix, p. 313; Rosati's letters, pp. 132, 134). In 1834 he was chosen successor to Bishop De Neckere, but he returned the bulls (SHEA, iii, p. 671). During Bishop Blanc's absence in Europe, 1836 to 1837, he was Administrator of the Diocese. At Blanc's request he went to Europe in 1838, to recruit his health. On his return he was made Vicar General, but he died soon afterwards, on April 11, 1841, at the age of forty-six.

[14] Forbin-Janson, Charles Auguste, was Bishop of Nancy-Toul and Primate of Lorraine. He was consecrated in 1824 by the Archbishop of Rouen, with Bishop Cheverus, formerly Bishop of Boston as one of the assistant consecrators. Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati was also present. Bishop Janson consecrated Bishop Hallandière of Vincennes, at Paris, in 1839. At the request of Bishop Flaget and Purcell, Bishop Janson was sent by Pope Gregory XVI on a mission tour to the United States in 1839, On account of his work in the United States for two years, he was given a seat with decisive vote among the American prelates at the IV Prov. Council of Balt. in 1840. On their return from the Council, Bishops Purcell and Janson sailed from Buffalo for Cleveland, in June, 1840, and encountered a fearful storm during which the Bishop of Nancy was once in imminent peril (SHEA, iii, p. 626). Returning to France in 1842, Bishop Janson founded the Holy Childhood Association and the Missionaires de France (a missionary society of secular priests for the home missions). He was instrumental in bringing the society of the Fathers of Mercy to the United States. Bishop Janson was born in 1785 and died in 1844. The late Bishop Maes of Covington has written his life.

city by four Jesuits, at which "numberless old sinners have returned to the Grace of Heaven. . . . About 180 of them received the Sacrament of Confirmation, several of whom were past 80 years of age, and one in his 90th. The Bishop who confirmed was himself over 80 years old. The scene was really one of the most touching I have witnessed. I did not preach, but I had very long sittings in the confession box. . . . I can but bless my God to have put me to some use." Says the Baroness de Coppens is ready to pay the 10,000 francs. "Probably you are willing to sign the following receipt," which follows in French, to which Bishop Purcell adds on the margin: "I can never do this." Brassac expected this and suggests that the Bishop make out a receipt himself and send it on. . . . "I have met with a misfortune which in my present circumstances is considerable. A sum of $1,100 due me in Louisiana was paid by my desire to a man whom the whole community considered as most upright and honest; but he has run away. . . . Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit, sit nomen Dni. benedictum, I say with the utmost resignation; but the money is gone, and I have it not." He regrets having missed Bishop Hughes of New York and Dr. Wiseman[15] who had been in Paris lately. Finally he says "I am not happy, because I cannot be with you. I feel that I cannot abandon my old father or sister, unless God himself manifests His will in some way than by the desires of my heart."

PARIS, FEB. 22, 1840. In the absence of Madame Barat, Superior General of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, Brassac calls on Madame Bouchaud, Superior of the Novitiate, to inform her that Bishop Purcell cannot wait much longer and has charged Brassac to procure Ladies of another order. "I saw Mr. Carriere[16] in regard to Mr. Goesbriand[17] and he gave the most satisfactory testimony upon the young ecclesiastic. . . . Bishop Rese[18] is still in Rome, but I could learn no particulars. . . . Drs. Nee and Moore desire their respects to you."

PARIS, MARCH 10TH, 1840. Madame Barat cannot send her sisters. So Brassac writes to Namur and promises to attend himself to all the preparations for the voyage across the ocean. Will send a priest with the sisters.

PARIS, APRIL 6, 1840. Mlle. Coppens has paid the 10,000 francs which are in Brassac's hands subject to Bishop Purcell's orders. He negotiates with Mother Ignace of Namur on the terms of her starting an institution at Cincinnati. "I address this letter to the Most Reverend Archbishop thinking that it will find you there for the Council. Please offer my best regards to those of your

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[15] Then on his return from England to Rome, where he was Rector of the English College.

[16] A famous theologian, superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice from 1850–1864.

[17] Later Bishop of Burlington, N. Y., consecrated 1853; died 1899.

[18] Frederick Rese, born 1791 in Germany, studied theology and was ordained in Rome. Went on the African mission. Failing health brought him back to Germany. In 1824, he came with Bishop Fenwick to Cincinnati; the first German priest in the Northwest. On his tour through Europe in 1829, became one of the founders of the Leopoldine Association for the American missions. See CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, April, 1915, p. 51*ff*. He became Bishop of Detroit in 1833, but retired in 1837. In 1839, he went to Rome, where he remained till 1849, and then returned to Germany, his formerly brilliant mind having given away entirely. He died there in 1871.

brother prelates, with whom I have the honor of being acquainted, Drs. Flaget, Eccleston, Kenrick, Blanc, Portier, Chanche, Deloul, Joubert."[19]

PARIS, JUNE 5, 1840. "Meline brought four pamplets of Mr. Lucas and two copies of the debate.[20] Bishop Hughes left Paris a few days ago; did not know he was there. Reynolds of Kentucky is here.[21] I met him by chance on the street yesterday. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart promised a colony to Bishop Hughes. Shameful! . . . Mr. Loisson de Guimamont of Pierry near Epenery, is very anxious to know what results you have had from the invoice of that champagne wine which he gave you. If favorable, he would be disposed, I believe, to give some more again this year. The Sisters of Namur will be ready to leave in August or September. Mr. Goesbriand is to be ordained next Saturday week. If so, he may be ready to sail at the end of this month with Mr. Reynolds. Mr. Rappe[22] of Boulogne has written to me about his intended departure for Cincinnati. . . . I have expressed to him a wish that he might take charge of the nuns in September next. . . . May I inquire of Mr. Larne of Havre what has been the operation in the champagne wine?"

PARIS, JUNE 25, 1840. "Your kind letter of the 30th of May last has duly come to hand through Rt. Rev. Bishop Rosati. It would be difficult to express by words the pleasure I experienced in seeing again that old friend and his worthy travelling companions, Bishops Portier and Miles. . . . I must give you my thanks for your benevolent disposition for me in giving in my name as candidate for the See at Natchez. You overrated my abilities in thus presenting me, and however flattered by your step in my behalf, I assure you that I rejoiced heartily to see that it was unavailing. . . . The Central Council of Paris met yesterday, and the three American Bishops attended. I was also invited and accompanied them; and after Bishops Rosati and Portier had spoken of their dioceses, I took the word as interpreter of Bishop Miles who begged me to act as such. After I was done for Tennessee, I begged leave to entertain the members of yourself and your diocese. . . . I had their promises that they would remember you in the next year's allocation."[23] Brassac then

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[19] Rev. Louis Deloul, for many years President of St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore and Superior of the Sulpicians in America. Rev. Hector Nicholas Joubert, S.S., professor and vice-president of St. Mary's Seminary, was born in France, 1777; went to San Domingo in 1801; from there came to the United States in 1804. He became the founder and superior of the Colored Oblate Sister of Providence. To him President Boyer of Hayti, after Rosati's mission, applied for a colony of those Sisters (*Cath. Cabinet*, 1842, p. 355). He died November 5, 1843. On the work of these two Sulpicians see HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, pp. 194, 230. New York, 1915.

[20] The famous debate on the Roman Catholic religion between Alexander Campbell and Bishop Purcell, held at Cincinnati in January, 1837.

[21] Rev. Ignatius Aloysius Reynolds, born near Bardstown, 1798. Ordained, 1823. Went to Europe, 1840, to restore his health; was then Vicar General of Bardstown. Consecrated Bishop of Charleston, S. C., 1849. Died, 1855.

[22] Louis Amadée Rappe, born in France, 1801, ordained, 1829, was chaplain of the Ursuline convent at Boulogne from 1834–1839. Came to America, 1840, and was for several years pastor of Toledo, Ohio. Consecrated Bishop of Cleveland, 1847; resigned 1870; died, 1877.

[23] The *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati states on July 25, 1840: "We learn that the Rt. Rev. Bishops of St. Louis, Mobile and Tennessee arrived in safety at Paris and had an interview with the committee of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. The Very Rev. M. Brassac was present on this occasion with the foregoing prelates and as Vicar General of the Bishop of Cincinnati represented the claims of this diocese to the attention and liberality of the Society."

states that Bishops Portier and Miles approve of his project of establishing in Paris a General Agency for the American Bishops, he himself to be their authorised representative. He wants Bishop Purcell's opinion on the subject.

PARIS, JULY 16, 1840. "Our young friend Goesbriand will leave France in the course of this week on board packetship *Iowa*, Captain Pell, my good friend. Rev. Mr. Reynolds will be his Mentor to Cincinnati. Madame Gallitzin together with seven other Ladies of the Sacred Heart will take their passage on board the same ship. I have had two very long conversations with Madame Gallitzin[34] and Madame de Bouchaud, Mother of Novices, and told them my mind upon the conduct of Madame Barat towards you. . . . I think, however, you will not regret to have the Ladies of Namur instead of them." States the reasons. "I have written to the Abbé Louis[35] of Rennes to know whether he could take charge of your seminary. . . . It would be well for the sisters of Emmitsburg to write themselves to the Queen for the painting promised." Will soon send circulars to the American Bishops regarding the General Agency.

PARIS, JULY 7, 1840. "I have had a few days of very severe illness, a most violent fever and my head as it were on the rack. . . . I have received since my last to you a very amiable letter from the Superior General of the Sisters of Namur, Sister Ignace, sending me a copy of your really *first rate* communication to the Bishop of Namur. The good prelate, a matter of fact man, like a Belgian, gave permission to prepare the departure. . . . They will be eight and will leave Europe at the latest on the 16th of September next. Abbé Rappe will accompany them. Bishop Miles left Paris last week for Belgium; he pressed me very much to accompany him, but cannot do it. Bishop Rosati is still here and will remain for some time at the Lazarists. . . . Bishop Portier has gone direct from Lyons and Marseilles to Rome, but expects to sail from England on the first of October."

PARIS, JULY 30, 1840. "I send you herewith a copy of the circular letter which I take the liberty of sending to the Most and Rt. Rev. Archbishops and Bishops of the United States.[36] I have had the boldness to give your name as reference and hope you will not be displeased at it. The three American Bishops who passed here lately have strongly insisted that I should begin that Agency as soon as possible, considering it of a great advantage to the Episcopal body. I will be happy, however, if it meets your own approbation, because I would be

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[34] Princess Elizabeth Gallitzin, born in Russia 1795. When 26 years old she became a Catholic at Petrograd. Entered the community of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in 1826. Came to America in 1840 as Provincial Superior. Died at St. Michel, La., December 8, 1843. (*Cath. Cabinet*, 1843, p. 579.) She was a cousin of Prince Augustine Demetrius Gallitzin, the pioneer missionary of the Alleghenies.

[35] Abbé Louis, a Breton priest, was one of the organizers of the society of the Eudists after the French Revolution. He was at this time the superior of the Eudist college of St. Martin, which he had founded at Rennes. Here the Ven. F. M. P. Liebermann was, even as a simple acolyte, master of novices from 1837 to 1839. The Eudists were originally founded by Rev. John Eudes (died 1680) as a community of secular priests with the object of conducting higher seminaries for candidates to the priesthood. The Eudist fathers were brought to the United States by Bishop Hailandière for his Seminary at Vincennes in 1839. They remained only a few years. In 1843, they took charge of Spring Hill College near Mobile under Bishop Portier.

[36] See pages 413-415, of this issue.

very sorry indeed to do anything contrary to your wishes or advice. I will be very much obliged to you to recommend me to your venerable brothers in regard to the enterprise, which of course, will never prevent me from giving my particular attentions to the business of my dearest and best friend. In a short time I will send another circular to the clergy in general, to apprize them of the establishment of the Agency and the manner in which it may be useful to them. To succeed in this will be, I confess to you, very gratifying to my heart, because truly it will seem to me I am serving that mission to which I would be so happy to sacrifice my life.

Bishop Rosati left Paris for Lyons and Rome the day before yesterday. I still expect the Ladies of Namur will sail the 8th of September, but I cannot say yet from what port. I expect every moment letters from England and Belgium which will settle the point. Nothing new here, but great agitation about the *Question d'Orient*, war between France and the rest of Europe is not improbable; however, hopes of the continuance of peace are entertained by many. Msgr. D'Affre has received his bulls and will be consecrated in the fortnight coming; he has not become more popular. Nothing official about the appointment of Canon Raess of Strasburg. I hope Mr. Goesbriand will have arrived safely when this reaches you. Give him, please, my best compliments, also to our Clermontese friends. Abbé Rappe is here in good spirit. Farewell my dear and Rt. Reverend friend. Remember me to your brother, Messrs. Henni & Collins, the Misses Reilly, etc. Pray for me and believe me always with my whole heart, *Your true and devoted friend.*

PARIS, Aug. 20, 1840. "The storm you encountered on Lake Erie in company with Msgr. de Janson was mentioned in one of our religious papers with very much ado. . . . The Ladies of Namur and the excellent and pious Abbé Rappe will positively (God and weather permitting) sail from Antwerp on the first of September next on board the splendid ship, 700 tons burden, the *Eliza Thompson*, commanded by Captain Leander Joss, bound to New York. Bishop Miles is still in Belgium, has given up the idea of going to Vienna and instead will return next month to Paris and thence to Rome. . . . The Rev. Mr. Bayer from St. John's Church in Baltimore arrived here a few days ago, also on a begging campaign for building a German church, college, presbytery, etc. He goes to Vienna, he says, with the mission of arranging matters for the settlement in the Archdiocese of the Fathers Redemptorists. He has instructions from both Father Prost[27] and from the Archbishop. . . . L'Abbé Louis wrote to me to say that he could not take charge of your seminary for want of subjects." Brassac suggests the idea of detaching two or three subjects from Vincennses, to send them to Cincinnati, and supply them with new hands. . . . "Bishop Murphy of Cork was in Paris last week and went back glorious, says McCarthy, after having bought 6 or 7,000 old bouqiuns (old books). . . . I expect Bishop Portier towards the middle of next month. He will sail on the first of October on board *The President*. Ten priests of the

[27] On Rev. Jos. Prost, see *Cath. Hist. Review*, July, 1916, p. 185. Cf. also MULLANEY, *Four Score Years*, pp. 12-34. Rochester, 1914.

Missionaires de France will sail about the same time for Mobile and several Lazarists for Missouri."

MARVÉJOLS, DECEMBER 14, 1840. Brassac has heard of the safe arrival in New York of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and those of Namur. He complains of trouble caused him by a draft at sight by Bishop Purcell on Brassac without any previous notice for the large sum of 33,000 francs. He mentions payment of $600 to Mr. Hiram Powers,[28] the artist at Florence. He speaks of Schwartz's[29] fruitless efforts in Vienna to get a contribution for Cincinnati from the Leopoldine Association. Mueller of the Munich Missionary Society also fails. Bishop Rosati writes to Brassac that "the Pope told him that the Church of America was his consolation and that he was very much pleased with the American Bishops." "I preached last year before a crowded audience in the Cathedral of Mende for the Propagation of the Faith and endeavored to demonstrate that the missions of America were the most important. . . . Had a very kind letter from Bishop Blanc who complains of the scarcity of priests in his diocese. Bishop Kenrick has appointed me his agent." This letter contains a detailed financial account of Bishop Purcell with Brassac.

PARIS, FEBRUARY 16, 1841. Brassac is glad to hear that the nuns from Namur are enjoying better health in Ohio than in Belgium. He has been much displeased with the draft of 33,000 francs. The Munich Association has made an allocation for the nuns of Belgium in Cincinnati. "Bishop Miles writes to me that the publication of the infamous pamphlet of the German priest you had so wisely interdicted, has caused great rumour in Vienna and has very much prejudiced the old Prince Archbishop against the Church of the United States."

PARIS, MAY 4, 1841. Brassac mentions money paid for Frederick Wood[30] at the Urban College, Rome. Will ship twenty-five chalices, thirteen Roman Missals to Cincinnati. Endeavors to have Mother Ignace of Namur to get a loan to help the new establishment of her heroic daughters in America. "This letter will probably be handed to you by my good friends Mr. and Mrs. Labaume of St. Louis, with their dear little daughter, my God-child.[31] . . . I am very

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[28] Hiram Powers, the famous American sculptor, was born in Vermont in 1805, and came to Ohio in 1819. He lived for several years in Cincinnati, where later he had charge of the wax department of the Western Museum. He was very well skilled in the art of modelling clay. In 1835, he went to Washington and two years later to Florence, Italy, where he remained until his death in 1873. Bishop Purcell was acquainted with him and ordered from him some statues and panels for his cathedral. Mr. Powers' son Preston, born in Florence in 1843, followed in the footsteps of his father. In 1881, he made the statue of Reuben R. Springer for the Music Hall in Cincinnati.

[29] John George Schwartz was for over fifteen years the American Consul at Vienna, Austria. He took great interest in the Leopoldine Society for the American missions and acted as agent there for the American bishops. He usually forwarded to America, at his own expense, the church articles bought or donated for these missions.

[30] James Frederick Wood, born 1813; became a Catholic in 1838. Went to study at Rome, where he was ordained in 1844. In 1857, became Coadjutor of Bishop Neuman of Philadelphia; in 1860 Bishop, and in 1875, Archbishop, of Philadelphia. Died, 1883.

[31] By persevering efforts Father Van Tourenhout has been able to trace five families of the name La Baume in St. Louis. One branch of the family had returned to France many years ago. "After much searching," he says, "I have found the God-child of Father Brassac to be Madame Hicks-La Baume, for many years living at No. 106 Boulevard de Courcelles, Paris, France. She is now 82 years old." A letter sent to the lady brought a very kind reply, written in clear and strong English to Father

much afraid that the Archbishop of Paris will do very little for your painting with the King and Queen. . . . I have not heard anything of the Springers yet. We have heard with the greatest sympathy of the death of President Harrison and the shameful transactions of the United States Bank."[32]

PARIS, JUNE 26, 1841. "Our good friend Mueller of Munich was in Paris a few weeks ago and it was a real pleasure to me to reciprocate to him some of those attentions he bestowed upon us during our stay in Bavaria. He assured me that the two Franciscan friars who were to join Father Hubert, would leave Europe in the Fall and would come by Paris and Havre. Mr. Juncker[33] desires to go to Rome before returning to America. The champagne wine sent to Mr. Franque was sold by his brother-in-law in Havre. It brought only 1,000 francs. The expenses for storage, drayage, commission, etc., amounted to 150 francs and 50 centimes. The rest was placed to Bishop Purcell's credit. I am in search of the treatise on Hell, which Mr. Rappe desires me to send to you. . . . The pamphlet of Vienna written against you produced a very bad effect in Bavaria. The Bishop of Augsburg has written to his clergy to discourage subscriptions to the Association. I am told so by Mr. Mueller who was very much vexed at the Bishop's conduct. . . . The allocations of the Association are very much curtailed this year. . . . The Propaganda at Rome has thrown on the Association all the European Missions which it did not assist previously, these having an association of their own, called L'Oeuvre Catholique. . . . The Lazarists here seem anxious that Mr. Odin may not accept the coadjutorship. However, Bishop Blanc writes to me that he thinks the acceptance undoubted. . . . Bishop England is in Ireland to recruit. Bishop Miles and Mr. McMahon[34] are in England or Ireland and will sail very shortly for the United States. . . . Mr. Wood informs me that Bishop Rosati will leave the Eternal City after the feast of St. Peter and Paul. . . . Messrs. Timon and Bouillier[35] arrived here this morning (29th). . . . Will see with pleasure Mrs. Springer and render myself useful to them."

Van Tourenhout, from which I take the following: "Rev. Father Brassac was a great friend of my beloved father, Louis F. La Baume. That must be the reason he became my God-father. Being then a child I do not remember him. He was a very holy man and was greatly appreciated by all who knew him, and had many warm friends. I am so sorry not to be able to say more about him."

[32] The Bank of the United States was founded in Philadelphia in 1791 by an act of Congress as financial agent of the government and to help pay the national debt. When Congress in 1832 renewed its charter, President Jackson vetoed the bill. The next year the Secretary of the Treasury withdrew all the government deposits from it and thus it ceased to be a federal bank; it secured a charter from Pennsylvania and did business as a State bank. Under President Harrison, in 1841, a bill was passed in Congress to revive the Federal National Bank, but President Tyler who had in the meantime succeeded Harrison, vetoed the bill. Then the crash came and the bank failed. How Rev. John Timon, then visitor of the Lazarists and later Bishop of Buffalo, saved from the United States Bank failure 200,000 francs entrusted to him by religious communities in Europe, is told in the *Life of Bishop Timon*, p. 63*ff*. Buffalo, 1870.

[33] Damian Juncker was born in Lorraine in 1809; was the first priest ordained by Bishop Purcell, 1834; was pastor of Holy Trinity in Cincinnati 1834; in 1836 pastor of St. Mary's, Canton; in 1846 pastor at Dayton; consecrated first Bishop of Alton, Ill., 1857; died 1868.

[34] The Rev. Edward McMahon pastor of St. Peter's at Lexington, Lafayette Co., Ky. See WEBB, *Catholicity in Kentucky*, pp. 99 and 331.

[35] Rev. John Timon, then visitor of the Lazarists, later in 1847, bishop of Buffalo. Died 1867. Rev. John Bouillier, C.M., accompanied Bishop Rosati in his episcopal visitation of the Diocese of New Orleans of which he gives a full report in a letter dated Donaldsonville, March 1, 1828. (*Annales*,

PARIS, JULY 23, 1841. "I have incorporated into your diocese a young man of the Diocese of Versailles, a student of the St. Stanislaus College, and highly recommended by the Rev. Froment and the other clergymen of the establishment. . . . I gave him dimmissorial letters that he may receive the four minor orders. The young gentleman's name is Dumas. . . . Five ladies of the Sacred Heart are preparing to go and join Madame Gallitzin in New York. . . . I am going to spend a few weeks at my father's with two young Louisianians who live with me."

PARIS, JULY 31, 1841. "You are very fortunate not to have been curtailed in the same proportion as your brother prelates in the United States. Some of them will be very much surprised. . . . You have been allowed 41,800 francs; but this sum will not be paid off until the end of the month of December next. . . . The refusal of Mr. Odin has been accepted at Rome; but he has been appointed Bishop in partibus and Apostolic Vicar of Texas with positive orders to accept. Mr. Lefebre of Missouri has been appointed Coadjutor of Detroit. This last appointment has excited much surprise. Mr. Juncker intends to leave Rome in September and ship to the United States. . . . The Association has made no special allowances for the Sisters of Notre Dame at Cincinnati; the institute is only recommended to your solicitude."

PARIS, OCTOBER 15, 1841. "Mr. Juncker is here preparing to sail from Havre to New Orleans on the twenty-sixth next with a colony of Brothers of the Christian Schools going to Missouri. . . . Juncker is full of spirits, has said farewell to his relations and native land like a brave man indeed. . . . Bishop Rosati is here lately returned from Rome. He will sail from England on the 4th of November next in company of Mr. Lutz.[36] Fathers Van de Velde and De Buisson[37]; arrived here the day before yesterday, on their way

iii, p. 513.) In 1833, during Easter time, Bouillier went from St. Louis to visit Father Duprey in Arkansas who was 600 miles from the nearest priest, that the latter might make his Easter duty (*Ibid.*, p. 123). In 1835, Bouillier built the church and parsonage at the Old Mines (Potosi, Mo.), where he had been appointed in 1828. For a time he was also stationed at New Madrid. In 1842, he finished the new church at Donaldsonville, begun in 1840. In 1841 he accompanied the visitor Rev. John Timon to the general chapter of the Lazarists at Paris.

[36] Rev. Joseph Anton Lutz was the first missionary among the Kansas Indians in 1827. See interesting sketch in SHEA, *Catholic Missions*, p. 457. Interesting details of his work among these Indians are found in the *Annales*, iii, pp. 516, 535, 545, 549 and 565. In 1831 Fathers Lutz and Paillasson were sent by Bishop Rosati to establish the first resident mission for the Illinois Indians at Prairie du Chien, *ibid*, v, pp. 567, 585. Of a strange sick call of Father Lutz, *ibid*, vii, p. 148. In 1828 or 1831, Fathers Lutz and Van Quickenborne, S.J., came up to Galena and the surrounding country in northern Illinois (KEMPKER, *Hist. of the Catholic Church in Iowa*, p. 16). From 1833-1835, Father Lutz was at the Cathedral in St. Louis and secretary to Bishop Rosati. In 1840, he was theologian for Bishop Rosati at the IV. Prov. Council of Balt. In 1848, Father Lutz became attached to the Diocese of New York, where he was pastor of St. John the Baptist parish until 1852. Then he became pastor of Holy Cross Church until 1855. The following three years he was rector of German parish in Syracuse. In 1859 and 1860, he was at Wheatland, now New Muenster, in the diocese of Milwaukee. He died in 1861 in New York.

[37] James Oliver Van de Velde, S.J., born in Belgium, 1796, came to America with Father Nerinckx in 1817, and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Georgetown, Md. Became President of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., in 1840. Consecrated Bishop of Chicago 1849; transferred to Natches 1853; died 1855. Stephen L. De Buisson, S.J., came from Europe with Rese in 1829 (*Annales*, iv, p. 526) and was the first priest ordained in the new cathedral of Baltimore in 1821. Was an important witness in the Mattingly miracle at Washington, in 1824. In 1833 he took charge of St. Joseph's parish in Philadelphia with many missions in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. While in Vienna in 1836

to the General Council of their Society, where they are sent by their provinces. . . . I will renew your subscription to the *Ami de la Religion*. You are not the only one to complain of it. It has decidedly fallen off. Egli was very near struck by lightning riding in a carriage with Archbishop D'Affre. . . . Mr. Dumas will probably be ordained subdeacon at Christmas."

PARIS, MARCH 28, 1842, Brassac reports that Mr. Nealy arrived safely and was at once admitted to the care and patronage of Messrs. Whelan, O'Brian, Goodwin and others from Boston. . . . "A letter from our friend Schwarz of Vienna brings a very agreeable intelligence: 3,000 Florins has been allowed you by the Leopoldine Association, and though that is a small sum, it shows at least that the prejudice created by Pisbach's pamphlet is dying away and that the truth is coming out. *Potens est veritas et praevalebit*. God be blessed. Will have Dumas ordained priest in September and send him immediately to Cincinnati via New Orleans. . . . Mother Ignace of Namur died on the 16th inst. Great loss. A great many priests have offered themselves, but I do not think it prudent to address them to you. One of the name of ..... may come; but beware of him. . . . Mrs. Bouillon, a lady whose family you and I visited together, rue d'Assas, and whose young son you blessed, has presented me with a very handsome alb for you."

PARIS, APRIL 5, 1842. "Bishop Rosati has returned from Hayti quite satisfied with his mission there. He returns to Rome in a few days."[38]

PARIS, APRIL 14, 1842. Brassac speaks of a seminarian, Pratte from Westphalia, who will go to Cincinnati, also a Bavarian priest Mueller who goes to Baltimore, but would prefer Cincinnati. Hopes to get Rev. Schonat also for Cincinnati. "I understand, but I am not sure of the fact, that a Canon of the church of Salzburg had gone over to America to judge and examine the conduct of the American Bishops towards the German priests in order to report on the subject to the Leopoldine Association."[39]

PARIS, MAY 31, 1842. Brassac speaks in praise of Mr. O'Mealy. Has not received the letters sent by Goesbriand and Rappe. "Who is the Mr. Menghi d'Arville at Toulouse, who styles himself in public prints *Vicaire Général de Cincinnati pour les missions d'Amérique en Europe, etc. etc.?* I tried yesterday to direct another German missionary to Cincinnati; but I could not succeed; he had bound himself to Mexico and you know what a German head is. He was immovable. . . . Mueller of Munich writes me that the painting for the new German church will soon be ready. . . . We have heard with sorrow the death of Dr. England. . . . I have just received a letter from Bishop Rosati in Rome. He is well. The Holy Father has created Knights of St. Gregory the Consul General of France in Hayti and Mr. Lartigue, Captain of the ship which brought the bishop back to Europe, for their kind offices to Bishop Rosati."

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or 1837, shortly after Bishop Bruté's visit there, he completed and revised Bruté's report on the American missions. It was printed in the *Leopoldinen Berichte* (1838) and is undoubtedly the report mentioned in the A. Cath. Hist. *Researches*, xxiii, (1906) p. 384.

[38] On the successful mission of Bishop Rosati to Hayti, see CLARKE, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops*, Vol. i, pp. 370*ff*.

[39] Cf. CHR, i, p. 357, for an account of SALZBACHER'S *Meine Reise nach Nord-Amerika im Jahre 1842*.

PARIS, JUNE 30, 1842. Brassac's great joy at hearing from the bishop that he will visit Europe again this year. "No doubt your presence in Bavaria may have the result of softening the hardness of some of the bishops, especially of Count Reisach."[40] Brassac will accompany the bishop again. Mr. Schonat is on his way to Rome, thence to France and to America. He will be a great acquisition. He congratulates Bishop Purcell on his success in Austria. "I always thought that if you could get somebody to remind Prince Metternich of you and to ask him to say a few words to the old Archbishop in your favor, it might be better than anything else." Remarks on Bishop P. R. Kenrick and "poor Beauprez, who has too much of a Flemish head." "Let me know the doings of Canon Salzbacher. It were good if you made him take a little of the hard ridings, hard and scanty fares which American bishops are sometimes obliged to submit themselves to, and his conviction might be that they must be assisted somehow or others."

MARÉJOLS, JULY 27, 1842. Brassac mentions the terrible railroad accident at Versailles, the earthquake at Hayti, the fire at Hamburg, the death of the Duke of Orleans. "Our *Avenir* has become very dark and portentious. The politician loses himself in speculations, but the Christian reverts to Providence." Dumas will be ordained priest in September. "I have had, however, some misgivings about his disposition to embark for the missions." Of the loan of some $20–25,000 in Europe, desired by Bishop Purcell, Brassac sees no prospect or possibility. "I had expected to receive from New Orleans $5 to 6,000 due me; but the notes were protested and I am likely to lose a great part, if not all the sum due me; so Bishop Blanc writes to me. You know all about Hayti; but what I did not want you to hear from another source is that they think at Rome to send me there next winter as Commissaire Apostolique to prepare the way for the bishop who is to be sent there, and who I think will be no other than Mr. Meanhout.[41]

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[40] Count Charles August Reisach, born in Bavaria, 1800. Studied theology at the Germanicum at Rome. Ordained 1828; became prefect of studies at the Propaganda in 1829; consecrated Bishop of Eichstaedt, Bavaria, in 1836; coadjutor (1841) and Archbishop of Munich, 1847. Created Cardinal in 1855. In 1865 member of the preparatory commission for the Vatican Council; in 1869 first papal legate of the Council. Died December 22, 1869 at Contamine, Savoy.

[41] Rev. Constantine Meanhout, immediately after his ordination at St. Louis, became pastor of Natches, where he remained until 1824. But he had to leave for lack of support, as foreseen by Bishop Rosati. Then he was sent to Pensacola, in Florida. The Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar in the story of his journey to Florida pays a high tribute to Father Meanhout. He is undoubtedly one of the two priests of the Vicariate mentioned by Bishop Portiere in 1827, whom he is soon to lose because they belong to New Orleans. In 1834, he was pastor of St. Mary's, New Orleans. On April 30, 1836, he left New Orleans with Bishop Blanc on the steamer *Creole* for Liverpool, and returned again with him early in 1838. But it seems that Meanhout had intended to go to Europe in 1835, since we find among Rosati's letters a copy of a commendatory letter given to Meanhout, February 5, 1835, for Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Propaganda. In 1842, he was again appointed by Bishop Blanc Rector of St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans, but the trustees refused to admit him. He was appointed there again in 1844, and remained until 1861. In 1860 he was Archbishop Blanc's theologian at the II Prov. Council of New Orleans. From 1861 to 1865, no report of the southern dioceses are found in the *Catholic Almanac*. In the *Almanac* of 1866, Meanhout's name is not given. He must therefore have died within that period. Father Brassac was mistaken in his expectation. Instead of Father Meanhout, the Rev. Father Tisserand of the Society of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, was sent by Rome to Hayti. See GOEPFERT, *Life of the Ven. F. M. P. Liebermann*, p. 336*ff*.

"I have made my remonstrances and expressed my serious objections to the mission proposed. This is between ourselves." In a postscript to Rev. Edward Purcell, Brassac acknowledges the draft for 937 francs and 50 centimes from James Slevin of New York, and promises to write immediately to the persons concerned at Coire, Canton des Grisons, in Switzerland; thus everything will be settled.

MARVÉJOLS, JULY 30, 1842. Brassac has received a letter from Msgr. Raes of Strasburg in answer to his inquiry regarding the Society of the priests Pretiosissimi Sanguinis;[42] the bishop speaks highly of them, but fails to mention the place in Switzerland where the Mother House of the Institute is to be found. Brassac wants to know on what conditions Bishop Purcell wants them to come.

PARIS, OCTOBER 26, 1842. Brassac speaks of the sudden illness of his father, an attack of palsy and apoplexy. He is now recovering. Schonat sails for New Orleans next month with Rev. Messrs. Chalon, McGarahan and another young German priest sent by Count Reisach to Bishop Flaget. Dumas is a disappointment although ordained priest for Cincinnati, he refuses to sail and wants to stay longer on account of an old but rich aunt from whom he expects to inherit. No answer yet from Coire where Brassac has sent the draft of Rev. Ed. Purcell on account of Rev. Mr. Henni. Brassac hears the false and slanderous reports about Rev. Anduze of New Orleans.[43] Rumor has it that the Ladies of the Sacred Heart will yet come to Cincinnati. More Sisters of Notre Dame sailed on September 7 from Antwerp for Cincinnati. Rosati will probably pass the winter in Rome. "The *Catholic Telegraph* comes regularly now and affords me great pleasure."

PARIS, NOVEMBER 26, 1842. Brassac writes of the departure of Schonat,

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[42] The Fathers of the Precious Blood, invited by Rev. Henni, Vicar General of Cincinnati, came to America in 1843, with their Superior, Rev. Francis de Sales Brunner. In Havre, they met Bishop Purcell who offered them a house with some land in Cincinnati, where they arrived on New Year's day, 1844. They did not remain there but went to St. Alfonsus mission near Norwalk, Huron Co., Ohio. See ALERDING: *The Diocese of Ft. Wayne*, p. 433; *Leben und Wirken des Pater Franz Sales Brunner*, Carthagena, Ohio, 1882.

[43] This Rev. A. B. Anduze has a singular place in the diocesan history of New Orleans. According to the notes of Bishop Bruté, rector of St. Mary's College, Emmittsburg, "in 1818 Mr. Anduze was the first person permitted by the Archbishop to study theology here for two years." While yet a student in theology Anduze was tutor in St.Mary's College, from 1819 to 1820. Anduze was ordained for New Orleans by Bishop Du Bourg, in 1821. In April, 1821, he writes to Bishop Rosati from Ste. Genevieve. According to the *Catholic Almanac* (1822), he was professor at the Catholic College of St. Louis from where he writes to Bishop Rosati on March 2, 1822. According to Bishop Blanc's notes he succeeded Brassac as pastor of St. James, Louisiana, about 1823. On July 23, 1823, Blanc writes to Rosati that Bishop Du Bourg intends to install Anduze at Natchitoches next October. But it seems that from 1824 to 1834, Anduze was pastor of St. Gabriel's, Iberville, La., from where he visited Natchitoches with Bishop Du Bourg in 1825. The story of a strange deathbed conversion brought about by Father Anduze in the parish of St. James is related in the *Annales* (v, p. 593). In 1824 he preached the sermon at Bishop Rosati's consecration. He also preached when Bishop Blanc laid the cornerstone of St. Claude's Chapel, in New Orleans on November 14, 1841. On October 10, 1827, Rev. A. Blanc writes to Rosati that "Anduze is in Paris since the end of July. . . . It is not probable that he will return before two years." On November 1, 1828, he writes from Paris to Rosati that he has visited Bishops Du Bourg and Cheverus. In 1837, Anduze is sent by Bishop Blanc to the missions in Texas. On February 21, 1838, Jeanjean writes to Rosati, "Mr. Anduze is in Havanna; when leaving he expected to be absent about two months. He intended to visit the islands of Cuba, San Domingo, St. Thomas, etc." After 1840, the name of A. B. Anduze is not given in the *Catholic Almanac*; but M. B. or B. M. Anduze figures as theologian at the Cathedral of New Orleans.

and another German priest, Mr. Heiss. Rev. Tusch,[44] a Bavarian Capuchin from Eichstädt will also sail. "This Mr. Tusch seems to be a very good pious man and may be a very excellent missionary. However, I think he is rather too old and I will be very much mistaken if he ever changes the bed of the Ohio River." He travels with another German or Tirolese priest, Mr. Inama, who goes to America "for his improvement." "I have tried to prevail on him (Inama) to go to Cincinnati which he intends to visit. I think him a man of high learning, eminent talents, great piety, and a gentleman." Since writing last Brassac has neither seen or heard from Mr. Dumas, whose conduct is severely blamed by all. Bishop Clancy has fallen out with the Association having drawn on it at sight for a pretty large sum. The draft was refused and protested and His Lordship wrote a very —— letter. "My old father keeps mending slowly. P. S.—Did you know that I lost all that I had in New Orleans, about $6,000. Sit nomen Dni. benedictum. Have you got room for me?"

PARIS, DECEMBER 30, 1842. Brassac has received a sort of apology from Rev. Mr. Dumas; but told him he was released of his engagement. "I am sorry Pratte was obliged to leave you; the Ligorians ought to refund to you the money it cost you to have him go over to Cincinnati." Speaks of Bishop Blanc's troubles at New Orleans. "Bishop Rosati is still in Rome, but will be here before long. I may have to go to Hayti very shortly. Do not be too much surprised if I meet you in Baltimore about the time of the Council. . . . We have lost our Reverend Master, the Rev. Mr. Liantard at the college; at the funeral service I met Egli (Vicaire Général honoraire of Paris) who inquired eagerly about you. Msgr. Garibaldi is appointed Archbishop *in partibus* and goes as Nuncio to Brussels; and Msgr. Fornari whom we saw in Belgium, comes to Paris in the same capacity."

PARIS, FEBRUARY 22, 1843. "I send you an account of our respective pecuniary situation by which you stand in my debt of the sum of 566 francs 96 centimes, which you will refund when convenient. Bishop Rosati has insisted too pressingly about my going with him to San Domingo, that I have consented to do so. Expect to sail in a couple of weeks and return to Europe to meet you here. Mr. Combes of Clermont has sent me 100 francs for Mr. Lamy."

PARIS, APRIL 10, 1843. Brassac says it is impossible to meet Bishop Purcell at the Baltimore Council, because Bishop Rosati is too sick to cross the ocean. They intended to sail May 4 and be in Baltimore by the twentieth "but God only knows whether Bishop Rosati will be well enough for that.[45] . . . My visit to the United States will have much less charm for me if you are not there and Cincinnati will appear to me like a dreary waste. . . . All of our friends will be happy to see you again."[46]

[44] Andreas Tusch was at first assistant at St. Mary's, Cincinnati. From 1846 to 1851, he was at St. Thomas', Potosi, Wisconsin, where he started the mission of St. Andrew. In 1852 he was at St. Stephen's, Howell Road (New Coeln), Wisconsin, from where he also attended St. Francis. In 1856, he said the first Mass ever offered at Schimmels, now La Crosse, in Laporte Co., Indiana. From 1857 to 1858 he was pastor of St. John's, Lake Co., Indiana. Cf. ALERDING, l.c., pp. 225, 405.

[45] Father Brassac's misgivings were well founded. Bishop Rosati left Paris for Rome on the advice of his physician in the hope that the more genial air of his native country would restore his health, but it was too late. He expired at Rome September 25, 1843.

[46] Bishop Purcell must have informed Brassac of his coming to Europe, for he met him at Antwerp .

PARIS, OCTOBER 7, 1843. "Mr. Thierry renews invitation that you and I visit him at Fecamps. I answered that you ahd left Paris for Boulogne. Mr. Goesbriand, father of the missionary, tried to see you at Havre and then searched for you in Paris, but was disappointed. He is a jovial old gentleman, talks English exceedingly well and writes poetry in two languages and in verse. He left me 100 francs for his reverend son."

PARIS, OCTOBER 13, 1843. Brassac is sorry that Bishop Purcell has to wait so long in that most disagreeable port of Havre. "What you must endure and the anxiety you must feel, I know by experience, having had to remain there a long spell in 1831, waiting for a favorable wind. Mr. Thierry wrote a long letter about our meeting on the Rhine and which bespoke all the happiness it had afforded him. . . . I am very busy with our installation having the material department as my share. We have some difficulties also; the Archbishop may occasion us some trouble."

PARIS, JUNE 15, 1844. Brassac informs Bishop Purcell that he sent via Havre to the care of Peter Hargons of New York, a painting as a present to the Bishop from Mr. Digby;[47] also a chasuble from the same gentleman. "I have left the institution which I had contributed to form. That kind of life did not suit me at all and I am glad to have recovered my freedom." He suggests to the Bishop to send him a little of the money due him. "My parting with Mr. Le Boucher has considerably disarranged my plans and put me to no little inconvenience. . . . I have to thank you for your remembrance to me in your letters to the young seminarians. Still I would have preferred a line direct. . . . I have done the best I could to put up with my disappointment since October last."

PARIS, NOVEMBER 13, 1844. "I have been much humbled indeed by your apologies for your long silence towards me and thus you have caused me to regret my complaints to you on that head. Friendship founded on mutual regard and esteem is proof against the appearance of neglect and such I hope is ours. A cloud may one moment veil the rays of the sun; but to destroy its genial heat it cannot. The thing is, I hope, so understood between us. . . . Your allocation for this year is 33,000 francs and something. The nuns of Namur will send a supply of their Sisters for the foundation intended at Toledo. They will leave Europe with Mr. Machebeuf.[48] This reverend gentleman is traveling in the interior in order to recruit some priests and in his last letter he seemed in hopes of obtaining a few worthy ones. I will do my best to procure the means necessary to meet their expenses. Mr. Digby was not yet in Paris a few days ago. He never received the books you had sent him to Paris from Boulogne. . . . I wrote to our friend Leclere about your desire to know

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In a letter to Miss M. Reilly, dated from that place, August 13, 1843, the bishop speaks of his visit to Mr. and Mrs. Haight, being accompanied by the V. Rev. Mr. Brassac. "We were in full costume ecclesiastique, as is the custom here, and rode in a splendid carriage placed at my disposal to make this and similar visits."

[47] Kenelm Henry Digby, the famous English convert and Catholic author.

[48] From the *Life of Bishop Machebeuf*, Vol. i, p. 133, it appears that these Sisters sailed from Antwerp accompanied by a priest and seminarian sent to them by Father Machebeuf, while he embarked at Havre, having in his party fifteen Ursuline nuns destined for the Diocese of Cincinnati.

whether the Sisters Hospitalières[49] would accept of the Invalids Hotel founded in Cincinnati and which was offered to your direction. . . . Leclere and Cecile charge me to express to you their respectful and very cordial gratitude for the trust and confidence manifested by your kind proposal." Then follows a *Compte Courrant de Mgr. J. B. Purcell, Ev. de Cincinnati avec H. Brassac*" for 1843 to 1844, closing with the remark *sauf erreur ou omission.*

PARIS, FEBRUARY 4, 1845. Brassac acknowledges the receipt of a letter dated January 3. "The persual of it caused me mingled feelings of grief and satisfaction. I will not say a word more on the subject of my letter . . . except to express my sincere regret that any expressions of mine would have offended you. . . . I thank you most sincerely for the frank communication of Mr. ——'s letter and Mr. ——'s charges against me. Were I to follow my first feelings, I would answer to neither; they are rather low for a man of my age to stoop to. If I notice them, it is merely to satisfy you and to show you that I am still worthy of the esteem of the continuation of which you give me the assurance no matter what may occur." (Here follows a long explanation.) "I dismiss, never to take it up again, this subject of my justification against the accusations of two inexperienced young men. . . . I forgive them as I wish to be forgiven at the last day. . . . I am to leave Paris altogether and settle near my father in the course of this summer. My pious and excellent pupil will have soon finished his studies and returning to Louisiana leaves me at liberty to seek the solitude and bury myself in it.[50] Farewell, Rt. Reverend and dear Sir. Please remember me in your prayers and holy sacrifices and be sure that in spite of what evil tongues . . . may have done and said of me and notwithstanding all that has passed between us, I have never ceased to entertain towards you the truest sentiments of esteem and respect."

MARVEJOLS, JANUARY 14, 1846. "Monseigneur, Vous ne vous attendez guêres sans doute à recevoir une lettre de moi après une rupture aussi complète de correspondence entre nous, et je dois avouer que sans une raison imperieuse je ne me serais permis de vous addresser ces lignes. . . . Je n'ai pas moins souvent pensé à vous et n'en ai pas fait moins de voeux pour vôtre bonheur et la réussite de vos efforts pour le bien de la religion et la gloire de notre commun Maitre." Brassac then states that a dying man left him 100 francs for the Propagation of the Faith, which he might apply as he thought best. "Knowing the needs of your Diocese, to which my heart belongs always, though my name figures no more, I could not do better than send this small donation to you. Please do accept and pray for its donor (your namesake) John Baptist Clavel. Puisse, Monseigneur, ce faible temoignage de mon souvenir vous rappeller le respectueux devouement de celui que pendant de longues années vous appelliez vôtre ami."

BEDARIEUX (HERAULT), MARCH 15, 1850. "Your kind favor of the 16th of

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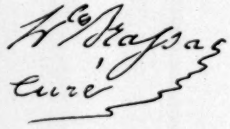
[49] The Hospitallers of St. Joseph, a religious community of women, were founded in France in 1636. They came to Montreal in 1689, and came to the United States in 1894, where they settled in the Diocese of Burlington, N. Y. They came to Chicago, in 1903, where they conduct St. Bernard's Hospital.

[50] Brassac had two pupils from Louisiana studying at Paris. No clue to their identity is anywhere given in his letters.

January last reached me in due time while on my way to this place where I am preaching the stations of Lent. I will not attempt to express the pleasure it caused me and the readiness with which I am willing to dismiss from my heart and mind the causeless suspension of our friendly and so long amicable relations. I was well certain that the time would come when you would do me justice. . . . The views of the different churches of your city has been a treat to me. . . . Bishop Timon passed at Montpelier about two weeks before I passed there to come here. . . . I regret very much to have missed that opportunity of shaking hands with my old friend. . . . One of the inhabitants of this place hearing that I have been in America came to show me letters of his son in Cincinnati. Enclosed is a letter for the said son, whose name is Alexander Marconier, workman, hatter." Brassac hopes that the Bishop will again come to old France.[51]

MARVEJOLS, AUGUST 20, 1861. Brassac regrets that his letter did not reach the Bishop at Paris and concludes that he left for Rome, otherwise would have been happy to accompany him there.[52] He hopes these lines will reach him there, so that he may know of the Bishop's return to Paris. He would be exceedingly happy if Bishop Purcell could come from Marseilles to Marvéjols, "where your old friend would do his best to restore you after your long journey. Your visit would be for him one of the greatest consolations possible. Remember that he is an old man with white hair, though his heart is still vigorous and warm. After seeing you under his modest but hospitable roof, he would be ready to sing his *Nunc dimittis*. . . . As of old, your very humble and devoted friend, Hle Brassac."



[51] Purcell went to Rome in 1851, to receive the pallium from the hands of Pius IX.
[52] Purcell went to Rome for the canonization of the Japanese martyrs in 1862.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. By Thomas Kilby Smith. New York: The Encyclopedia Press. 1917. Pp. v+318.

Several series of handbooks on the States of the Union have appeared in recent years, all aiming to supply information that is needed yet each following its own plan in respect of order, emphasis and proportion. For Pennsylvania in particular there is a goodly number of publications that deal either with the State as a whole or with some phase of its development. The present volume combines the best features of its predecessors and adds others which are essential to a fairly complete and impartial survey.

Within small compass, Mr. Smith condenses a mass of data which otherwise could only be obtained by an investigation at many sources and through various monographs. In the first chapter he gives a general survey including physical characteristics, political divisions and statistics of population. This might well serve as an answer, in the first instance, to the question: What is Pennsylvania?

There follows, in three chapters, an historical statement, showing how Pennsylvania came to be what it is—whence its people came, how they bore themselves in the struggle for independence and how they used their freedom to build up a great commonwealth. The results of this development and its principal factors are then set forth in chapters dealing with government and military affairs, and describing the financial and industrial progress of the State. Emphasis is laid on the human element as this appears in "manners and customs" and in "conditions affecting the home." Institutional activities are described under "education and the professions;" "social systems;" and "care of criminals." The chapter on "literature, art and science" records the contributions of Pennsylvanians in each of these departments and shows that in a State abounding with material resources and wealth-getting activities, culture has had a vigorous and fruitful growth.

It may be said, with justice, of this book, that its chief interest lies in telling of the people, of their life and tendencies and of the higher spiritual influences by which they have been affected. First among these is religion; and the chapter on this topic is instructive not only as furnishing information but also as setting an example of fairness and moderation. The Catholic Church receives its due share of prominence in the account that is given of its organization, schools and charitable institutions. But similar information is supplied regarding the Protestant bodies, and credit is given to their leaders and their contributions to the public welfare. In this respect the book marks a distinct advance.

It also suggests much that is encouraging in regard to the later volumes of the series which the Encyclopedia Press has arranged to publish. A book of the same character on each State will be useful both to the citizens of that particular state and to all Americans, while the collection as a whole will form a unique history of our country.

There is a specially urgent need of such books at this time when we are engaged in a struggle for the principles of democracy and for its salvation. The fundamental lesson which all our people should learn is the meaning of "our country;" and the best way to learn it is by studying the facts and institutions which in States that differ so widely have manifested and preserved the democratic ideal.

This volume, and its successors, will naturally find a place on the desk of the general reader who will welcome its succinct statements as an introduction and who will make use of the bibliographies under each chapter for further investigation. It will also serve as a means of ready reference for the busy man who must get his information quickly and in condensed form. But it will accomplish its best results in the schools. It is high time that our children, even in the grades, were more thoroughly instructed in American history. To teach them a few things about wars and battles and the succession of presidents is not enough. They should understand their country in the making. With a knowledge of their own State such as this volume offers and a proportionate acquaintance with the other States, they would be better prepared to see clearly and to act manfully in the crisis through which we are passing.

Early Philadelphia, Its People, Life and Progress. By Horace Mather Lippincott, joint author of "The Colonial Homes of Philadelphia and Its Neighborhood." With a photogravure frontispiece by Charles H. Stephens and 119 illustrations from photographs and prints. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1917. Pp. 340.

The volume might fairly be styled a Study in Origins. Its interest for the general reader will lie in the fact that these origins do not concern merely one great American city and its institutions but as well the civic growth and institutional development of the American Colonies. Much of this activity had its first beginnings in Philadelphia, which thus became a pioneer for cities older or youger than itself. And in some instances where the City cannot claim priority, it can "point with pride" to things still extant which have the distinction of being "the oldest" in our American history. Elizabeth Pennell had briefly summarized this greatness of Philadelphia in her declaration that the City "had worked, and still worked, and worked so well as to be the first to have given America much that is best and most vital in the country—the first to show the right way with its schools and hospitals and libraries and newspapers and galleries and museums, the leader in the fight for liberty of conscience, the scene of the first Colonial Congress and the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the Centennial Exposition to commemorate it, a pioneer in science and industry and manufacture—a town upon which all the others in the land could not do better than model themselves—while all the time it maintained its fine air of calm that perplexes the stranger and misleads the native" (*Our Philadelphia*, pp. 266-7). We read such a declaration as this, however, with the tugging fear that it is only a series of brilliant generalities based rather on a pardonable civic pride than on cold historical facts, although one specific instance is given (p. 253) of priority, in the statement that Philadelphia "had been the first American town to publish a daily paper" and that this paper "set an example for all America."

Agnes Repplier, in her *Philadelphia, the Place and the People*, had previously furnished her readers with other specific instances of "first" or "oldest." Thus it was a Philadelphia playhouse that produced "the first American play ever publicly acted in

the colonies" (p. 75); and the Philadelphia Academy of the Natural Sciences is "the oldest institution of its kind in America" (p. 81); and it was in Philadelphia that Franklin "invented the stove which warmed nearly every parlour in town . . . invented the lightning-rod . . . organized the fire companies . . . "(p. 87); and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts is "the oldest institution of its kind in the United States" (p. 376); and the "Fishing Company . . . is the oldest club of its kind in the United States" (p. 387). But the City has still other kinds of preëminence, for its University has "an unequalled institute of anatomy" (p. 380), and its Fairmount Park "is the largest in the United States, and the most beautiful in the world" (p. 382). One more quotation will probably exhaust the priorities mentioned in Agnes Repplier's volume without, it is hoped, exhausting the patience of the reader. Of Philadelphia (now personified) we read: "She it was, among American cities, who printed the first daily newspaper, and the first magazine. She established the first circulating library, the first corporate bank, and the first medical college. She laid the keel of the first American warship, and unfurled the first American flag. She was the home of the first National Congress, and of the first Supreme Court of the United States. Finally, she organized the first World's Fair that this country had ever seen, no facile task, as those who bore a part in it can testify" (p. 368).

Miss Repplier's treatment of the origins enters into greater detail than that of Mrs. Pennell, but is summary nevertheless. Mr. Lippincott undertakes quite a different task. His "first" and "oldests" aregenerally accorded separate chapters in which the origin is pointed out and the development down to the present day is described. He justifies the title of the volume by first of all picturing "Early Philadelphia" topographically and socially and then categorizing its early activities and showing their "progress." His constant interest in the personalities of the Quaker City results in frequently-recurring and extensive lists of names of those who were associated with the City's enterprises. Nowhere do we find a formal posing of the famous question, "What is a Biddle?" But the book will answer that question and a hundred similar ones. It also answers the query, "What is a Wistar Party?" It is an old, old institution of Philadelphia;

but the present reviewer would have been glad to have the answer when he received a perplexing invitation to a "Wistar Party" but a few months ago. For reasons like these, the book will doubtless offer many an arid page to all but Philadelphians. To these latter, however, its minute descriptions of interesting spots in the City, its care in localizing certain old colonial houses (many of which are still extant), its genial story of early customs and their modern survivals, and its really unpretentious, albeit apparently assertive, claims for the origins, can hardly be other than entertaining.

Entertaining—but instructive as well. For few Philadelphians really know their city, despite the large literature of history and description devoted thereto. To pick up a work like that of Mr. Lippincott is to embark on a voyage of discovery. And to find Philadelphia is to love it. The voyage may not prove entirely pleasant for readers who have not the enviable distinction of living or having been born in the City, but they will discover many things which they ought to be glad to know. For it is a City of American Origins. And so we return whence we set out—to call attention briefly to the "first" and the "oldest" things mentioned in the volume. Meanwhile, the reader should be cautioned not to indulge the natural surmise that pretentiousness, which is the very opposite of the City's own prevailing sentiment, characterizes the volume. He will nowhere find a glowing summary of the City's great achievements. Even the eight columns of the Index will not furnish a single reference to "first" or "oldest" or "origin." Only patient search will reveal items like the following (to which it is therefore desirable to attach page-references):

"The English Bible was first published in America at Philadelphia" (p. 43), "the first and greatest medical school in America" (p. 170), "the oldest institution dedicated to the fine arts in the United States" (p. 185), "the oldest institution (viz., the Philadelphia Academy of the Natural Sciences) of its kind in America" (p. 189), "so began pharmaceutical education and degrees in the western hemisphere" (p. 193), "the first exhibition of manufacturers in America . . . and the first electrical exhibition" (p. 196), "the first bank chartered on the continent" (p. 227), "the first Trust Company in the United States" (p.

234), "the oldest Fire Insurance Company in America, but also one of the strongest active Fire Insurance Companies in the world" (p. 244), "the first Savings Fund Society in America" (p. 264); and the franchise granted in 1876 by the Governor of Pennsylvania to a Title Insurance Company "was the first ever granted by any governmental authority in the world" (p. 267).

We are thus brought down to quite modern times—the year of the Centennial Celebration in Philadelphia. What has been here condensed into a few phrases forms the basis for many an instructive chapter. If the story ended here, the author would be justified in his declaration that the City "is noted for its organizing spirit. If the Philadelphian has anything to do or a pet idea to promulgate he immediately sets to work to found a Society for that specific purpose, chooses officers and adopts a constitution" (p. 197). But the tale is not fully told. The City is proud to "harbour the oldest business concern in America" (p. 268), while the printing business founded by Franklin in 1728 "has continued without a break and still bears the name of its originator" (p. 272). How shall we find space for all the origins? We read further of "the first ships for the American Navy" (p. 276), the first steamboat (p. 277), "the oldest social organization in the English speaking world" (p. 303), the first asylum for the insane established entirely for their care (p. 309), "the hospital department of the Almshouse . . . the first in the United States" (p. 313), a separate dispensary for the poor opened in 1786 as the "oldest in the United States" (p. 319), the first volunteer organization to fight the claims of the British Government (p 285), the first protest against slavery (p. 321), the first organization established for the abolition of slavery (p. 322), the First Continental Congress (p. 333), "the oldest life insurance company in the United States" (p. 329), the first game of cricket (p. 222), the first cricket club (p. 223), the first intercollegiate game of cricket (p. 223) and the first intercollegiate cricket club (p. 225).

The City might well urge a modest claim to be first in peace, first in war. But she has reason to fear her place is not first in the hearts of her sister-cities, for she has long been the butt for ridicule as a "slow town." We should not quarrel with the present volume, even if it seems to challenge by implication such older

cities as New York or Boston. We may rather feel that it challenges the attention of the civic historian and the sociologist, for very much of the City's olden spirit of organization has survived the changes of two centuries and is unobtrusively energizing its present manifold activities.

A very brief but kindly account is given of Catholicity in Philadelphia (p. 76), but a curious *post hoc ergo propter hoc* implication appears (p. 20) in the statement that the early settlers were "free from mediaeval dogmas and far advanced in the line of the Reformation" and that as nearly all were Quakers ("the most advanced sect"), "the effect of their liberalism on the growth of Pennsylvania was marked." In addition to the text, the volume contains 108 pages of inserted pictorial illustrations.

My Story: Being the Memoirs of Benedict Arnold, Late Major-General in the Continental Army and Brigadier-General in that of His Britannic Majesty. By Frederic J. Stimson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917. Portraits and a map. Pp. 622.

The author of this interesting and instructive book has already worked successfully in the field of fiction, but his present story is by no means a creation of fancy, for it is largely constructed of the materials of history. In the fascinating pages of those who describe the war for American independence it may be doubted whether any among the multitude of characters encountered by the reader possessed so many elements of the literatesque as did Benedict Arnold. One thinks of *The Rivals*, in which Hamilton and Burr are the principals, of *The Conqueror*, Miss Atherton's enthusiastic biography of Hamilton, of the *Winning of the West*, which records the deeds of George Rogers Clark, and of many other books whose heroes adorn historic tales.

But the difficult march through the Drowned Lands, one of the most glorious achievements of the Revolution, an exploit well described by Roosevelt, had its fellow in the dangers of the Dead River and the boiling Chaudiere and that is but a single incident in the career of Arnold. Indeed, with the exception of Beaumarchais, the brilliant French dramatist, a man of more varied experience and of greater gifts than the American soldier, to the

literary artist the hero of Saratoga is the most attractive figure in the struggle for American independence. He alone made the difficult journey from patriotism to treason. Charles Lee and Gates, to be sure, were ever ready to accept similar terms from the authorities of their native land, but one was a coward and the other an obvious knave whose rascality was too apparent for success in an intrigue. But, perhaps, Lee with his American command was, after all, of more value to King George III in the rôle of a rebel.

Mr. Stimson does not attempt a life of General Arnold, but has cast his narrative in the form of an autobiography, purporting to have been intended for the eye of His Majesty, yet not entirely overlooking his English kinsmen and his American countrymen. Here and there may be found anachronisms, but the main story is one that Arnold might have prepared for the instruction of posterity. It is a tragic volume on the calamities that followed in the train of treason.

In recent years there has been amongst American historiane not a little activity concerning the facts of the war for independence. Yet this research has told us about Arnold but littls that is new. Probably a majority of those who know the events of the Revolution as they know the letters of the alphabet have long been prepared to acknowledge that his treatment was infamous and to wonder whether under similar provocation any but the most exalted characters could have triumphed over the temptation to retaliate on little men. The unreported victories, the gross discrimination in conferring promotions, the wicked slanders of artful men would commonly have proved too much for flesh and blood. From his glorious past we can imagine how Arnold wrestled with his urgent impulses, but never can we know how much he resisted. One thinks of the verses of Robert Burns, who had known the temptations of adversity:

> "Who made the heart, 'tis He alone
> Decidedly can try us."

Doubtless the struggle of the ruined General was not protracted hough from boyhood the phantoms of honor and riches must often have whispered to his hopes, but he never expected them to come in a form so questionable as the proffers of André.

In describing the eventful career of Arnold one surveys anew a considerable part of the Revolution. As arranged by the author the criticism and persecution, for to that it came, are fully emphasized. His treatment by Joseph Reed better than any incident in those crowded times shows how insignificant were some of the leaders in the darkest days of the war. George Bancroft made and retracted the charge that Joseph Reed was a "trimmer." It appears, however, that it was another Reed whose integrity was shaken by the winds of intrigue. Admitting all this, yet Joseph Reed's treatment of Arnold was unpatriotic, because it promoted the interests of the enemy, and if the President of the Pennsylvania Council is to be acquitted of having himself flirted with treason, there is no sort of historical proof that he should be remembered as a leader entitled to the dignity of contempt. Reed Street, in Philadelphia, is his fitting memorial. Arnold made the mistake of not courting that busy patriot. In fact he never learned the art of getting on, but was designed by nature for a blunt soldier.

Though the author lacks the perfect art of Milton, whose Satan, we know, has often been admired by readers of *Paradise Lost*, he does much for his hero. From the outset the reader of Mr. Stimson's story finds himself not altogether out of sympathy with the unfortunate soldier who is the subject of this book.

It is not easy to understand how with the eyes of eighteenth century New England, Arnold could have seen that section as we now behold it. There is an unmistakable note of bitterness in all his reputed allusions to New England Puritans and their Yankee leaders. The attitude toward Samuel Adams and his cousin John is one of extreme antipathy. The former, for instance, is censured for failing to subscribe to an object at a time when it is doubtful whether because of his interest in public affairs, he possessed the ability to do so. One feels that as a youth Arnold was, perhaps, not rigidly righteous and probably for that reason was admired by neither of the Massachusetts statesmen. Moreover, it is not at all certain that the desirability of gaining political independence appealed to him as early as it had to the Adamses, who were the foremost among the radicals, or that in fact he was at any time convinced of its wisdom.

The intolerance of Arnold's New England contemporaries

cannot be denied. But when he had gone over to the enemy, he strongly appealed to Protestant hatred of Catholics in order to persuade his countrymen to follow his example. Puritan fanaticism was, it is true, a cause but not a major cause of the war with England. In the beginning there were in America few who dreamed of independence. There is, perhaps, no more stupid interpretation of military history than the assumption that wars begun for one object have been so skillfully directed that unexpected forces have been powerless even slightly to alter their tendencies and their objects. Many great wars, as is well known, commenced for one purpose have been waged to effect objects very different.

The demagogues who now harrangue American audiences, hoping to arouse in their hearers sentiments which will force our Government to make a new statement of its terms of peace, have no other purpose than the future embarrassment of the United States. But shallow as is the artifice it is not generally perceived, otherwise the agitators would be made to feel the resentment of angry patriots. If, for example, at its present session, Congress demands from President Wilson a new statement of the terms on which the United States would consent to make peace, any subsequent modification of those terms would be condemned because it was not in harmony with the objects originally declared. Few people are as fully persuaded as was Emerson that consistency is the vice of little minds. Circumstances, it has been well said, not only alter cases but make them. Those now shouting for America's terms of peace are not ignorant citizens but disloyal ones. In the quiet of prisons they should be given opportunity to get acquainted with the principles of political science and to re-read their histories.

Americans from 1765 to 1776 were contending for a redress of grievances, but before July 4 they were driven by the pressure of recent events to occupy other ground. This, indeed, was inconsistency, but by that charge the great leaders were not distressed. History does not make it perfectly clear whether or no General Arnold had kept step with the march of events.

Apart from those affairs that touched him personally the feelings of Arnold were grievously wounded by the alliance with France, a Catholic power, and the hereditary enemy of old Eng-

land as well as New England. In his section of the country, to be sure, there was much fanaticism, but Arnold, a man undoubtedly influenced by religious intolerance, was not exactly the proper person to rebuke bigotry. When so grand a character as Washington did so in connection with a proposed celebration of Guy Fawkes' day, it was necessary that his objection be stated with great circumspection.

Our author should have known that George Washington was not born at Mount Vernon. A better knowledge of the characters of the Revolutionary era would have told him that Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a cousin, not a brother of Reverend John Carroll. Yet from one or two slips the reader of this very interesting story is not to conclude that Mr. Stimson knows little of the Revolution, for he knows the epoch not only in outline but in nearly all its important details. Every citizen having even a distant interest in the progress of the struggle for American independence should read this book, for in its attractive pages he will learn many useful facts not sufficiently emphasized by the historians. So long after that crowning act of infamy at West Point we can only regret that all Americans of that day did not see things as clearly as General Washington and that in consequence of their limitations a great soldier was driven from the ranks of the Revolutionary army.

The Quest of El Dorado. By the Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C., Ph.D. (H. J. Mozans). New York and London: D. Appleton & Co., 1917. Pp. xvi+261. Maps and illustrations.

Frequent reference has been made in the pages of the *Catholic Historical Review* to the scholarly contribution to South American history, especially Catholic history, given to the world by Dr. Zahm, under the attractive form of travelogues. His work is all the more valuable because it is unique. Dr. Zahm is the only Catholic scholar writing in English who has made extensive use of the sources of South American history, and the phenomenal success met by his triology, *Following the Conquistadores*, contains an urgent invitation to Catholic scholars to follow him in this interesting and profitable study.

The present volume, which comes as a sort of appendix to the other three, drops the travelogue form, and consists of a

collection of the most authentic accounts of what is described in the sub-title as "the most romantic episode in the history of South American conquest." The book is made up almost entirely of a series of essays written in 1912 for the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*. Interest in the subject has widened since that time, and Dr. Zahm's publishers have felt justified in preserving these articles in book form. Historians must be grateful for this care, for they present the only complete and accurate account in English of the various expeditions that for almost a century explored northern South America in search of the elusive Gilded Man.

If it served no other purpose than to introduce us to its sources, Dr. Zahm's book would be invaluable. Juan de Castellanos, soldier, priest, poet and historian, is the first of the obscure literary geniuses to whom we are introduced. Castellanos, like Calderon de la Barca, abandoned his military career at an advanced age, to seek the spiritual solace of the ecclesiastical state, and the rare consolations of versification. He wrote history in easy, flowing, graphic verse, and his two books, *Elegias de Varones Ilustres de Indias* and *Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, constitute the best account of the conquest of northern South America. And yet so little is his work known that the latter book, published first in 1889, is described in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (*s.v.* Castellanos) as existing only in MS.

The chronicler Fresle, son of one of the conquistadores of New Granada, is another obscure writer of merit from whom Dr. Zahm borrows accounts of El Dorado. Don Lucas Piedrahita, the famous *mestizo* Bishop of Panama, and Padre Simon are two ecclesiastical historians of the highest merit. Father Zahm rescues from the obscurity of their rare works interesting details of the exploration of northern South America that anticipated modern travel by three and a half centuries. Padre Gumilla, Fray Laureano de la Cruz, Francisco Vasquez and Toribio de Ortiguera, blend their accounts with the better-known authorities, Herrera, Oviedo y Valdés, Garcilaso de la Vega, Zárate and López Gómara. Fray Gaspar de Carvajal—a character who should be set down with Juan de Castellanos for special biographical study by some enthusiastic lover of romance—gives us the account of the discovery and first exploration of the

Amazon River—an account written long after his supposed murder by the discoverer, Francisco de Orellana. Bibliographers would do well to note the existence of this book, *Descubrimiento del Rio de las Amazonas, segúm la Relación hasta ahora inédita de Fr. Gaspar Carvajal* (Sevilla, 1894), and avoid the egregious blunder of a recent writer whose short biography of the author repeats the story handed down by Zárata and others through Prescott, that Carvajal was left to die in the jungle, and although it describes his later life as Provincial of the Dominicans in Peru, makes no reference to his chronicle of Orellana's expedition.

The Quest of El Dorado is a bibliographical study only in a secondary way, but since it is unique in its field, its bibliographical material is of the highest importance for the historian. Dr. Zahm's main purpose is to tell the story of El Dorado. This he does by reviewing the accounts of twelve different expeditions.

The name El Dorado seems first to have been given by the Spaniards, in 1535, to an Indian chieftain, described to them by a roving Indian as the lord of a rich city and province, and priest of a cult that offered a sacrifice of gold to the Devil. Castellanos and Fresle describe the ritual of the sacrifice. On assuming office, they say, the chieftain, after being stripped, was anointed with a resinous substance that served as a base for powdered gold that was blown over him through hollow canes until he glistened with gold from head to foot. He then proceeded to the middle of a sacred lake (supposedly Guatavitá, northeast of Bagotá) in a *balsa*, with a great quantity of gold and emeralds to be offered in sacrifice. After throwing these into the lake, to the accompaniment of sacred music, the Gilded Man returned to shore and was received by the people as their lawful chief.

With the spread of the account of this strange ceremony, and the increased interest aroused in the search for the country so rich in treasure, the story varied, and the name itself lost its restricted sense and came to be applied to the city and province over which the chieftain ruled. It is in this wider sense that the expression has come down to us as designating a place of vast riches.

Of course, the expeditions in search of El Dorado all had the same dismal result: drenched with rains that "baptized

their very souls," men starved in the wilderness or returned haggard and ill to spend their remaining days in broken health; fortunes many times greater than that spent in the discovery of America were swallowed up in the jungle; enmities arose out of keen competition to find the prize. But though there is a sameness in the narratives, each has its peculiar romance. The expedition of the German Von Hutten, for instance, claimed to have come within sight of the fabled city, which was so large that it stretched beyond their range of vision, and then, after defeating an army of 15,000 Indians with forty Europeans, turned back for more men to pursue the enterprise. This story was graphically told, and was so confidently believed that it formed the chief argument for some of the expeditions that followed.

The account of Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition (Chapter VIII), is a skilful and pleasant argument against the common belief that the Spaniards were the only credulous seekers after phantom gold in that day when so many dreams really came true. The account of Raleigh's expedition is taken from his own story, *The Discovery of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa, which the Spaniards call El Dorado*, etc. (Hakluyt Society, 1848). The tales he tells and the impossible inhabitants with which he peoples the far-away land have been preserved in the maps of De Bry and others. Raleigh read and believed all the fanciful accounts of the Spanish chroniclers, and when he reached the delta of the Orinoco and captured Indians and Spaniards to obtain from them precise information regarding El Dorado, he believed the wildest tales they told him. He transcribes from Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias*, the following account of the Gilded Man:

"All the vessels of his home, table and kitchen, were of gold and siluer and the meanest of siluer and copper for strength and hardiness of the metal. He had in his wardroppe, hollow statues of golde which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignes of all the beasts, birdes, trees and hearbes that the earth bringeth forth; and of all the fishes that the sea or the waters of his kingdom breedeth. Hee also had ropes, budgets, chests, and troughs of golde and siluer, heaps of billets of golde that seemed woode, marked out to brune. Finally

there was nothing in his country, whereof he had not the counterfeat in golde."

For an estimate of the simple faith of this staid Briton, Dr. Zahm goes to his countryman, Sir Frederick Treves, who declares:

"There never was a more romantic river voyager; never a more rapturous wild-goose chase. Raleigh was infinitely gullible. He believed every word the romance-loving Spaniards told him as if he had been a gaping schoolboy. He trusted Juan Martines as a modern traveler trusts his Baedeker. He gathered inspiration and assurance from any dull-witted Indian who nodded 'yes' to the unintelligible questions of his interpreter."

Dr. Zahm's book, especially the chapter on Raleigh, will do noble service in readjusting historical values. Catholics must be thankful for the service, since so much is still done in our time to disparage the exploits of Catholic Spain in the discovery and exploration of America. Typographically, the book is worthy of the publishers. The numerous illustrations that enliven the narrative are from ancient woodcuts in De Bry, Colijn, Gottfriedt and Herrera. There is a good bibliography and full index.

The Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution. By James Miller Leake, Ph.D., Associate in History in Bryn Mawr College. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1917. Pp. 152, Series xxxv, No. 1. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, under the Direction of the Departments of History, Political Economy, and Political Science.

A service of special importance has been rendered to students of early American history by Dr. Leake's skillful presentation of the above difficult subject. Personal researches by the author in the Library of Congress and among the valuable archives of the Virginia State Library and of the Virginia Historical Society, give added weight to his conclusions.

A good insight into the purpose and character of the work is afforded by a study of the brief, but comprehensive, introduction. The author points out how, heretofore, the committees of the Virginia system have been studied mainly as isolated units

rather than as parts of a well-developed system. "To show the continuity, to explain the organization of the committees of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and to show their part in the calling of the first Continental Congress," is the purpose of his study.

The work is divided into four chapters. In the first Dr. Leake shows that, "a system of English legislative committees, transplanted from the mother country . . . has become the very ground-work of the American legislative system . . . From special committees to do certain specific things, after which the committees were discharged, to permanent standing committees, with wider, but equally definite functions, was a process of evolution." The Journal of the House of Burgesses during the session of 1702–3, records the appointment of three standing committees, namely, the committee of public claims, the committee of election and privileges, and the committee of propositions and grievances. The author explains the function of these different committees, as also that of the committee of the whole. Other committees touched upon in succeeding chapters, but not indicated in the general headings, are the committees of courts of justice, of trade, and of religion.

Chapter the second is taken up with the Committee of Correspondence (1759–1770), to whom pertained the special function of communicating with the colonial agent, and the relationship existing between the committee and the House of Burgesses. This committee, according to the author, later developed into the committee for intercolonial correspondence.

In chapter third, a comparative study is made between the committee of correspondence of 1773 and the earlier one of 1759. In the fourth and final chapter, the writer proves that "the first Continental Congress was the creation of the intercolonial committees of correspondence, their efforts having made its calling possible." Of the members of the Congress of 1774, a majority belong to the committees of correspondence.

The transition from the Virginia Committee of Correspondence to the Virginia Committee of Safety will be discussed by Dr. Leake in a future treatise, which, doubtless, will show the same painstaking care, the same orderly, scientific and comprehensive treatment as is found in his scholarly presentation of the Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Catholic historical students will rejoice in the honor conferred upon Father Joseph Michael Gleason, of Palo Alto, California, in his election to the presidency of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Father Gleason was born on August 23, 1869, at San Francisco. He attended the Washington Grammar School and the Boys High School in that city, and studied at the Sacred Heart College and the College of St. Ignatius, from which latter institution he received the degree of M.A., in 1888. After finishing his theological course at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, he was ordained to the priesthood, and then began graduate studies at the Catholic University of America, where he studied under Drs. Shahan, Pace, Grannan, and Hyvernat. Father Gleason's library is known to all bibliophiles and scholars on the Pacific coast. He has collected many rare volumes on Spanish-American history, and his library at Palo Alto merits a visit from all who are interested in that fascinating period of American development which culminates with the heroic figure of Junipero Serra, the Franciscan.

There is a bit of war romance connected with the publication of Dr. Rudolph Schuller's edition of Fray Benigno Bibblotti's *Moseteno Vocabulary and Treatises* (Northwestern University Press: Evanston and Chicago, 1917). Dr. Schuller had finished the rough draft of the Introduction and a revision of the MS. (which is taken from Northwestern University's collection of Boliviana) when the rupture of diplomatic relations between Austria-Hungary and the United States forced his withdrawal from this country. The work as it appears now has been revised by Drs. Edward and Lichtenstein of Northwestern and Dr. Michelson of the Smithsonian. To anyone acquainted with the international reputation of Dr. Schuller as a student of South American linguistics, the apology of Dr. Lichtenstein for the publication of the work seems hardly necessary. The scholarship of the present editors seems sufficient guarantee that Dr. Schuller will not have to make a complaint similar to the following one, which he made on the publication of his "*Yñerre*" *o "Stammvater" dos Indios Maynas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1912): "I was in Europe when this paper was published, so I could not oversee the proofs. It is very badly corrected by someone who doesn't know Portuguese."

The book itself is a useful contribution to the history of the South America of sixty or seventy years ago. The author was a missionary among the Indians of Bolivia and his manuscript consists of a vocabulary and three sermons in the Moseteno language, for the instruction of young missionaries, and a short life of the saintly Franciscan, Fray Pablo Mateo Cerdá. The work is a silent witness that the apostolic labors of the South American clergy of the past century—a period much slandered by contemporary writers—were but a continuation of the quiet zeal of their predecessors who had spent three and a half centuries of thankless labor in quest of heathen souls. The book is worthy of study.

In a previous issue (April, 1917, pp. 110–111), we called attention to the prospective volume of Rev. John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame, to be entitled *Readings in Latin American Church History*. Father O'Hara has kindly consented to our publishing some of the introductory notes he has made for this much needed work, and it is with pleasure we offer them to our readers.

READINGS IN LATIN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Introductory

PERIOD OF DISCOVERY (1492-1525)

I. Religious motives in the enterprise.
   1. Declarations of Isabella and Jiménez.
      CORTÉS, *Cartas de Relación*, p. 54 *n.*
   2. Alexander VI, in the Bull of Demarcation.
      GÓMARA, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 169.
   3. Letter of Columbus to the Pope.
      Col. de Documentos Inéditos, 39:20.
   4. Cortés and Pizarro
      CORTÉS, *o. c.*, p. 54.
      ZAHM, *Along the Andes and Down the Amazon*, 454.

II. First fruits of the American Church.
   Baptism of the first Indians in Spain.
      GÓMARA, *o. c.*, 167.
      CASTELLANOS, *Elegías de Varones Ilustres de Indias*, 22.

III. First provisions for missionaries.
   1. Padre Boil appointed Vicar Apostolic.
      ENGELHARDT, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. i, *Appendix*.
      Doc. in., 38:199; 30:180.
   2. Orders to monasteries to furnish chaplains and missionaries.
      CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 22.
      GÓMARA, 170.
      Doc. in., 30:20, 220, 201, 219, 31:99.
   3. Orders for Church ornaments and supplies.
      Doc. in., 30:174 *et seq.*

IV. Work of first missionaries.
   1. First Mass in the New World.
   2. Difficulties of P. Boil with Columbus.
      Doc. in., 30:180.
      GÓMARA, *o. c.*, 170.
      MENDIETA, *Hist. Eccl. Ind.*, 32, 33.
   3. Return of Boil to Spain.
      GÓMARA, *o. c.*, 170.
      CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 34.
   4. Baptism of Indians.
      (*a*) Favorable reports.
         GÓMARA, *o. c.*, 176.
         CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 30–34, 51.
      (*b*) Adverse testimony.
         LAS CASAS, *Apologética Hist. de Indias*, 322.

5. *Repartimientos* intended as an aid to conversion.
   QUINTANA, *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas*, 437, 438.
   Doc. in., 36:174.
6. Difficulties created by bad conduct of Spaniards.
   Doc. in., 35, 199–240.
7. Work of education.
   Doc. in., 31:194.

V. Permanent establishments in Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico and Cuba.
1. Convents, churches and hospitals.
   Doc. in., 31:478.
2. Renewed supply of missionaries.
   Doc. in., 39:166.
3. Literary work.
   CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 45, 143.
4. Depopulation of Santo Domingo.
   Doc. in., 1:376, 386.
   OVIEDO, *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias*, 474.
5. Criminals as immigrants.
   Doc. in., 36:162, 168; 38:386.
6. First Mass of Las Casas.
   QUINTANA, *o. c.*, 434.
7. Disorders in Church affairs.
   Doc. in., 34:111.

VI. Ecclesiastics as civil rulers.
1. Cardinal Jiménez and Adrian VI.
   Cath. Hist. Rev., iii, 147, 150.
2. Fray Benito and Columbus.
   BERNÁLDEZ, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*.
3. Fonseca.
   NAVARRETE, *Viajes y descubrimientos*, ii, 316.
   BERNÁLDEZ, *o. c.*
   Cath. Hist. Rev., iii, 131-150.
4. Ovando.
   Doc. in., 30:512.
   CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 46.
5. Inquisitorial powers.
   GÓMARA, *o. c.*, 175.
6. The Jeronymite *audiencia*.
   Doc. in., 1:264, 7:391.

VII. The Church as protector of the Indians.
A. Preliminary steps.
1. Royal decrees on Indian labor.
   Doc. in., 31:206, 209, 214, 216; 36:174.
2. Decree for Indians to have their own towns.
   Doc. in., 32:79.
3. Regulations on slavery.
   Doc. in., 1:237; 10:545; 32:292, 304, 319, 329.
4. Sermon of Montesinos on slavery.
   LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. 3, c. 78.
5. Conversion of Las Casas to the cause of the Indians.
   LAS CASAS, *o. c.*, lib. 3, c. 78.

6. Santo Domingo missionaries suggest reforms.
Doc. in., 1:347; 7:397.
7. Missionaries ordered to free all slaves.
Doc. in., 11:258.

B. Colonies on the mainland for the protection of Indians.
1. Dominicans at Chichiriviche.
CASTELLANOS, 143.
LAS CASAS, *Apologética Historia*, 642, 643.
2. Franciscans at Cumaná.
CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 143.
3. War against the Caribs.
Doc. in., 1:439.
4. Destruction of the monasteries caused by the depredations of Ojeda.
LAS CASAS, *Apologética Historia*, 643.
PETER MARTYR, *De Orbe Novo*, dec. 7, c. 4.
CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 144, 145.
5. Colony of Las Casas, and the Knights of the Golden Spur.
Doc. in., 7:65, 89.

C. Reform on the islands.
1. Number of Indians freed.
Doc. in., 1:374, 417, 421, 422, 436.
2. Summary of agitation and reforms.
GÓMARA, *op. cit.*, 290.

PART I

THE PERIOD OF CONQUEST

Chapter I

Mexico

I. Missionaries in the train of Cortés. (1519–1524.)
BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, *Conquista de Nueva España*, 38.
GÓMARA, *Conquista de Méjico.*
MENDIETA, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana.*

II. Establishment of the Missions. (1524–1540.)
1. Request of Cortés for missionaries.
Doc. in., 12:470.
2. Bulls of Leo X and Adrian VI for Franciscans.
MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 192, 195.
3. Appointment of first missionaries.
(*a*) Their selection.
MOTOLINÍA, *Historia de los Indios de Nueva España*, 156, 161.
(*b*) Instructions from the Minister General.
MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 200.
4. Arrival of Fray Martín de Valencia and eleven companions.
DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, 241, 242.
GÓMARA, *op. cit.*, 404–405, 450.
5. Preparation for their work.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 99–102.
VASQUEZ, *Cronica de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesus de Guatemala . . .*, lib. 1, c. 11.

6. Assignment of missions.
   MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 99, 100.
7. Obstacles to conversion.
   MOTOLINÍA, 14–30, 140, 145, 209, 254.
   MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 501.
8. Aids to conversion.
   MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 26, 73, 135.
9. Work of the missionaries.
   DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, *op. cit.*, 310–311.
   GÓMARA, *op. cit.*, 449–451.
   i. Baptisms.
      (*a*) Manner of instruction—the *doctrina*.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 27, 28, 164.
         MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 496.
      (*b*) Administration of Baptism.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 111.
      (*c*) Children of chiefs baptized first.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 20.
         BENAVIDES, Memorial of 1634.
      (*d*) Number of Indians baptized.
         MOTOLINÍA, 105–108.
         MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 621.
      (*e*) Controversy about ceremonies of Baptism.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 109–115.
   ii. The other Sacraments.
      (*a*) Confirmation.
         MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 279, 280.
      (*b*) Matrimony.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 125–128.
      (*c*) Penance.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 116–125, 165.
      (*d*) Holy Eucharist.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 65, 124.
      (*e*) Sick calls.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 202, 203.
   iii. Feasts and Processions.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 81, 178–184, 237, 247.
   iv. Education.
         GÓMARA, *Conquista de Méjico*, 453.
      (*a*) Letters, etc.
         MOTOLINÍA, 215.
         PLANCHET, *La Cuestión Religiosa en Méjico*, 278.
      (*b*) Music.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 213–215.
      (*c*) Arts and crafts.
         MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 403–408.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 217–218.
         BENAVIDES, Memorial of 1634, ms.
   v. Literary and scientific work of the friars.
         MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 2, 11, 97, 176, 181, 192, 200–209, 249–252; ix, xxii, xxvii.

MENDIETA, xxvii, 550–552, 620.
SAHAGÚN, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, part ii, c. 1, 2.

vi. Building of churches and convents.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 81, 99, 178–180, 184, 237, 247.

vii. Hospitals.
MOTOLINÍA, 81, 82, 131, 132, 235, 247.

viii. Exploration.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 172–175.
Doc. in., 19:529.

ix. Daily routine of the friars.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 127.
BENAVIDES, Memorial of 1634.

10. Difficulties of the friars with the Spanish colonists.
Doc. in., 10:451.
TERNEAUX-COMPANS., *Voyages*, 16:94.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 137, 161, 162, 166, 167.

11. Support of the missions.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 71, 82.

12. Renewed supply of missionaries.
(*a*) Franciscans.
MOTOLINÍA, 148, 169–171, 136, 235.
MENDIETA, 322.
(*b*) Dominicans.
GÓMARA, *op. cit.*, 404.

13. Martyrs.
GÓMARA, *op. cit.*, 450.
MOTOLINÍA, 221–228.

14. Christian life of the Indians.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 68, 128, 134, 135, 168, 169, 229–238, 218, 221.

It will easily be seen from this bibliographical guide which he is preparing for this volume, that Father O'Hara has determined to treat the whole question of Spanish-American history thoroughly and impartially. It is earnestly to be hoped that his lectures at Notre Dame University will not cause any delay in the publication of his work.

A singular fatality seems to have been attached to the manuscript remains of Bishop Bruté, the first Bishop of Vincennes. Born in Nemur, France, in 1779, he was a youth during the Reign of Terror and witnessed many of the atrocities of that period. After graduating in medicine and practising a few months, he entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris, and was ordained in 1808. He came to the United States in 1810. In 1814 he was President of St. Mary's Seminary and from 1818 until his consecration as the first Bishop of Vincennes was President of Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. He was consecrated October 28, 1834, in the Cathedral at St. Louis. While journeying from Vincennes to Baltimore in 1837, he contracted a severe cold which developed into tuberculosis, from which he died June 26, 1839.

It was the custom of Bruté to keep a Note Book into which he daily entered matters of occurrence, often illustrating them with sketches of memorable scenes. This he maintained until near his death. His Note Books, as well as his voluminous correspondence with Bishops England, Rosati, Flaget and Purcell, with Judge Gaston and other persons of prominence in ecclesiastical and civil life in the United States and Europe, as well as his Reports of his work in the new and undeveloped Diocese to the Leopoldian Association of Vienna, would have furnished the material for an extended biography of one of the most remarkable men who have graced the hierarchy in the United States, and would have added most interesting chapters to the history of the Church in this country. Bishop Bruté seems to have realized the value of his literary remains. It is said that he spent the last months of his life in arranging his papers for his literary executor, when failing strength made him unable to perform the active duties of pastor and bishop.

These papers he left to his successor, Bishop Hailandière, who was in Europe at the time of the death of Bruté. On the return of Bishop Hailandière the business of a See, now growing rapidly with the incoming Irish and German immigration, hindered any attention the successor might have desired to give to the papers of Bruté. Difficulties of administration induced Bishop Hailandière to resign his See in 1847 and he returned to France. While waiting in New York to sail, Bishop Hailandière prevailed upon Bishop Hughes of New York to prepare a Life of Bruté. The Bishop of New York had known Bruté intimately while a student at Mt. St. Mary's. In furtherance of his plan for the work, Hailandière had given orders to the priest in charge of Vincennes, to forward to New York the Bruté MS., and this was done. But the work of the New York Diocese was also pressing and the Life was not written. It being reported to Vincennes, after the death of Archbishop Hughes, that the MSS. were being scattered and in danger of loss, the authorities there, in 1864, requested the return of the papers. In the meantime Bishop Bayley, who at one time had been Secretary of Bishop Hughes, had prepared a small volume, *Memoirs of Bishop Bruté*, which was published by O'Shea in 1865. He had contemplated writing a Life of Bruté, but press of occupations did not permit him to carry out his design, and he contented himself with publishing as "Memoirs," the notes and reminiscences of the French Revolution, the diaries of Bruté and his accounts of his labors in the new Diocese, from his interesting Letters to the Leopoldine Association. The facts of his life and character are made up mainly from a Discourse of Dr. McCaffrey delivered after Bruté's death, and from notes in Brute's handwriting.

Some of Mss. of the Bruté was returned to Vincennes after the appearance of Bayley's *Memoris of Bruté*. The latter book, though a mere scrap book hastily compiled, was a fortunate publication, for it saved from destruction some of the most valuable writings of Brute. In 1870 a nephew of Bruté, the Rev. Paul Jansions, O.S.B., came from France to prepare a Life of his distinguished uncle. He had already published a small pamphlet containing a sketch of the great Bishop, and with such manuscripts as were then available from the collection returned from New York, and papers gathered in France, was prepar-

ing to write the Life of Bruté. While engaged in arranging his papers he was taken sick with typhoid fever, and died at Vincennes, September 7, 1870. All his papers, the gathering of several years, were boxed up and sent to the Benedictine Monastery of St. Meinrad, Ind., where they reposed undisturbed until consumed by the fire which destroyed the Abbey in 1887.

A young priest of the Diocese of Vincennes, Rev. Edmund J. Schmitt, who had unusual talent for historical research, began to gather material for a Life of Bruté, but he was obliged to go South for his health and died May 5, 1901. He left his manuscripts to Bishop Maes of Covington, but the latter was unable to undertake the work, and some months before his death sent the papers to the Bishop of Indianapolis. They are now in the possession of Notre Dame University. The writer of this does not know what Fr. Schmitt was able to collect. There must be extant many letters of Bruté scattered about the country, for he was a faithful correspondent in the days when familiar correspondence was still an art. But the materials which Bruté had himself arranged for an Autobiography or a Life are gone, except such as were fortunately printed in the *Memoirs of Bruté* by Bayley, and this book is now out of print.

What with diaries, Note Books and Sketches which he daily made, no man seems to have better prepared for his biography than Bruté. But with fine irony fate seems to have decreed otherwise, and the Life of one of the greatest men of the Church in the United States is, nearly eighty years after his death, still unwritten. But it is a tribute to his greatness, that so long a time after his death, the want of a Life of Bruté is still felt.

The Benedictines of New Subiaco Abbey, of New Subiaco, Ark., have very sensibly taken advantage of the Silver Jubilee of their first Abbot, the Rt. Rev. Ignatius Conrad, O.S.B., to issue a history of the Abbey for the past forty years (1878–1917)—*A Retrospect on the Occasion of the Silver Jubilee of Abbot Ignatius Conrad, O.S.B.* By Rev. Luke Hess, O.S.B. Subiaco, Ark., 1917, pp. 125. Father Luke Hess, the historian of the Community—the "walking chronicle," as his brethren call him—has written a charming story of the success of the Abbey from its foundation. Numerous pictures of these early days, valuable also for the history of the Church in Arkansas, and several fine appendices are printed in the volume. The whole publication reflects credit on its author. Such works as these will be the authoritative sources for the history of religious life in the country.

We have received an artistic little volume, *Festschrift zum Silbernen Jubiläum* (1892–1917) *der Gemeinde Windthorst, Texas*, written by Rev. Frowin Koerdt, O.S.B., the pastor. It is unusually well written and reminds one of the fact that the Order to which Father Koerdt belongs has ever been foremost in all aspects of historical work.

A highly interesting, rare and instructive book (in the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.) is the *Noticias de la Provincia de Californias en tres Cartas de un Sacerdote Religioso, Hijo del Real Convento de Predicatores de Valentia.*

(Valencia, 1794, 16mo, pp. 304.) This beautifully printed volume, as its title indicates, consists of three letters to a friend. The two first letters were written at San Miguel, a mission which was founded by the writer himself in 1787, was situated in northwestern Lower or Old California, and was the uppermost mission of the Dominicans in the peninsula, marking the line of division between their field of apostolic labors and that of the Franciscans, to whom belonged the care of the Indians of Upper or New California. The third and last document was probably begun at the same place, and continued during the author's journey to Europe. It was completed at San Miguel, in the Azores, whence it was forwarded to Valencia, Spain. The work is edited anonymously. None of the letters bear any date, but they were evidently written from 1787 to 1791-2. All of them have as signature simply "F. L. S." Historians, not without reason, have assigned them to the Dominican Father Luis Sales, whose name figures quite prominently in Lower California at this period. The first letter gives a description of the country and the character, manners and customs of the Indians through the peninsula and as far north as San Francisco. The second treats of the former Jesuit missions in Lower California, from their beginning in 1697, to their suppression in 1767, and the Franciscan charge of the Indians there from 1768 to 1773. The third gives an account of the succession of the Dominicans to the Franciscans, at the latter date, and of the progress made by the missions under the new regime until the time of Sales' departure. It is unfortunate that Father Sales' letters are in the nature of a descriptive history, rather than an attempt to present a connected historical narrative. It is, indeed, deeply to be regretted that he did not give the world a succinct history of Dominican missionary effort in Lower California during the years he was laboring there, for while we have good accounts of the Jesuit and Franciscan periods, scarcely anything authoritative has been written on that of the Dominicans. Father Sales was one of the first band of missionaries his Order sent to the peninsula, and the talent and keen observation shown in his letters, prove that he could have composed a splendid and authentic narrative of these friars' apostolic endeavors in that desolate portion of the globe. Had he done this, the lover of true history might have been spared much crude misrepresentation by Hubert Bancroft and others. However, Sales' letters afford much useful, interesting, and edifying information on the earnest exertions of these self-sacrificing missionaries, and show—as many claim they did—that they must have labored as effectually for the Indian, and accomplished as much good for religion, as either the Jesuits or the Franciscans. And these fruitful labors the friars of St. Dominic continued until they were deprived of all means of subsistance, and were forced to leave the country by the destructive secularization measures of the past century. There were many distinguished men among them. One of them, Father Cajetan Pallas, became Bishop of Nueva Segovia, in the Philippine Islands, in 1806. One of these days, perhaps, some patient and painstaking scholar will ransack Spanish archives for documents on this little known subject, and give the world another edifying chapter on what the Catholic Church has done for the welfare, both spiritual and temporal, of the American aborigines.

Again, American historical students are under a debt of gratitude to Miss Grace Gardner Griffin for her *Writings on American History for* 1915. Since 1906, these annual bibliographies have been published under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The series has been generously supported by a group of subscribers and friends. In those fields which are of particular interest to Catholic scholars—namely, religious history, education, fine arts, Latin America, etc., etc.—there is abundant material catalogued. There is hardly any work of a more practical nature being published at the present time than these annual catalogues, and they should be found in every Catholic college and university.

An interesting problem in the interdependence of sources was presented by Joaquín García Icazbalceta in his introduction to Mendieta's *Historia Eclecidstica Indiana*, which, though written in the latter part of the sixteenth century, was first printed by the Mexican scholar in 1870. Icazbalceta presented a table of comparisons to show that Torquemada's *Política Indiana*, written shortly after Mendieta's work, and immediately published, was very largely a verbatim copy of Mendieta's manuscript, with moralizing comments by the copyist. Icazbalceta recognized the dependence of Mendieta on earlier manuscripts, one of which, Motolinía's *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, written between the years 1536 and 1541, and published by Lord Kingsborough in 1848, Icazbalceta had already republished in the first volume of his *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*. Another of the sources recognized by Mendieta and noted by Icazbalceta is the work of Olmos on the *Antiquities of Mexico*, which was finished before the work of Motolinía. The dependence of Torquemada and others on the earlier work of Motolinía was emphasized by Luís García Pimentel, the son and literary heir of Icazbalceta, when he published, in 1903, an earlier work of Motolinía, the *Memoriales*, which appears to be a rough draft of the *Historia de los Indios;* and the dependence of both Torquemada and Mendieta on Motolinía is noted by Fr. Daniel Sánchez García, in a third issue of the *Historia de los Indios*, published at Barcelona in 1914.

Equally interesting bibliographical material could have been found by these scholarly editors if they had compared these earlier texts with the monumental work of Las Casas, the *Apologética Historia de Las Indias*, which, though written before 1555, remained in manuscript until 1909. In his treatment of Mexican antiquities in this work, Las Casas uses at least two previous sources, Olmos and Motolinía. He acknowledges the work of both of these authors, though in the case of Motolinía at least his acknowledgement is very sparing for the amount of textual similarity he displays. About one-half of his treatment of Mexico is taken from a source or sources other than Motolinía, and the fact that he acknowledges one section of it as coming from Olmos, leads us to hope that much more of the lost text of this writer may be reconstructed from his pages. Incidentally, this particular section, which is made up of a series of letters indicative of the culture of the Aztecs, is repeated in Mendieta without the acknowledgment of any source. There is still another interesting

point that was missed by Pimentel and his learned collaborators who edited the text of the *Memoriales*. It is certain, from textual identity, that Las Casas used the *Memoriales*, and not the *Historia*, of Motolinía, and yet the passage which he attributes to the latter, a description of the Corpus Christi processions at Tlaxcala, in 1538 (Las Casas says 1536), does not occur in the *Memoriales*, while a modified and more polished form of the narrative is given by Motolinía in the *Historia de los Indios*. The solution of this problem is offered by Motolinía himself. In part 1, ch. 33, page 92, of the *Memoriales*, he promises to give the description of the Corpus Christi festivities in chapter 38; but in ch. 38 of the Pimentel edition, a new subject is introduced. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the manuscript used by Pimentel is defective in this particular. It is interesting to note that until now all contributions to this "bibliographical romance" have had reference to the work of the Franciscans, since Olmos, Motolinía, Mendieta and Torquemada were all sons of St. Francis. The introduction of the Dominican Las Casas into the problem should add greatly to its interest.

The necessity for thorough and impartial treatment of Las Casas, in English, already noted as a desideratum in the columns of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, is becoming more apparent every day. Francis Augustus MacNutt's *Bartholomew de las Casas* (New York, 1909) follows the Quintana ideal of hero-worship, while the article by Bandelier in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is probably too severe against the Defender of the Indians. The fairest, and doubtless the best, appreciation of Las Casas in English is the lengthy sketch in Vol. i of Thacher's *Columbus*. Fray Daniel Sánchez García, in his introduction to the reprint of Motolinía's *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España* (Barcelona, 1914), has the following significant paragraph:

> Someone has characterized the writings of Padre Las Casas as so many defamatory libels against Spain. Be this as it may, it appears indisputable that while there is much in them that is true, there is much more that is exaggerated, not to say false; and it is on these exaggerations or falsehoods that the enemies and detractors of Spain have based their charges of unheard-of cruelties that she never committed. Fortunately, the authority of Las Casas is daily losing ground, as the history of the conquest becomes better known, and its course weighed in the balance of historical criticism. Nevertheless, there are still among us those who accept the gratuitous assertions of Las Casas as Gospel truth, without regard to the testimony of the great Bishop Marroquín, of Bernal Diaz del Castillo and a thousand others, in particular of Padre Motolinía, at least as good a friend and enthusiastic a defender of the Indians as Las Casas could have been.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Las Casas, in copying Motolinía's description of the sacrifices to the gods of fire and water (Las Casas, *Apologética Historia de los Indios*, ch. 171; Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part I, ch. 19; *Historia de los Indios*, ch. 7), omits, certainly with deliberation, some passages of the original that tend to emphasize the cruelty of the Indians; and it may be said in passing that no credit is given by the copyist to the author of the original.

A collected story of the different efforts to establish French colonies in the United States still remains unwritten. That story stretches from Maine to Louisiana, and contains the early records of Kaskaskia and Cahokia in the Mississippi Valley, Vincennes, Detroit, Biloxi, the Acadian Exiles, the account of the French Republic at New Orleans in 1766, and a number of other attempts such as that at Gallipolis in 1791. Margry's six volumes on the *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale* 1614–1754 (Paris, 1888) are a basic source for such a work. It is a sad story; for practically all these attempts were failures, and one of the most pathetic is that of Gallipolis, which we have already treated in these pages and which is fully described in the *Centennial of Gallipolis*, published by the Ohio Archeological and Historical Society (Columbus, 1895). *The Story of Some French Refugees and their Colony of Azilum* (1793–1800), by Louise Montgomery (Athens, Pa., 1903), has many human touches, and the fate of the colony, of which hardly a trace remains, adds but another melancholy page to this little known aspect of early colonization. Rosengarten, in his *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States* (Phila., 1907), has attempted to bind together the scattered threads of these projects, all of which have a place in the history of Catholicity in the United States; but the work needs to be done from the Catholic standpoint, if it is to be true to life.

The knowledge of the existence of a complete set of Stevens' *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America* (1773–1783) is of value to every scholar in the vicinity of the collection which contains the set. Stevens' plan to furnish facsimiles of American documents of importance from the Archives of England, France, Holland, and Spain, astonished historical scholars the world over by its audacity. His project embraced one hundred volumes, and recently through the great generosity of a friend, the Catholic University of America has received the twenty-five volumes which were published in 1889–98. These volumes are a storehouse to the American historian, and the foreign relations of our government during the Peace Negotiations can never be fully grasped until all these documents are analyzed. Benjamin Franklin Stevens had been a resident of London for many years, when he presented his plan to our Government in 1882, and again in 1884, of securing copies of the 80,000 documents relating to the War of Independence and the Peace Negotiations (1763–1783), from the Archives of England, Holland, Spain and France. His project was not accepted by the Government.

The Old Jesuit Mission in Council Bluffs, by Rev. Francis Cassilly, S.J., is an important chapter in the life of Father De Smet, S.J., the great "Black Robe" of the West. The source material for the history of the Council Bluffs Mission grows from year to year. Interest may yet be aroused to mark the site of the first church in Western Iowa by a suitable memorial to its great missionary. Father John O'Neill of Council Bluffs has won a place for himself in American Catholic historical work by his patriotic endeavor to resurrect the past of his locality.

An accomplished historian, Father Francis Betten, S.J., of St. Ignatius College, Cleveland, Ohio, writes to the Editor that the REVIEW deserves the general and generous support of all American Catholics, and offers the following striking suggestion:

> "I wish to give expression to an idea which has long been in my mind, and which I think you can bring to realization. The REVIEW is too high for the ordinary reader. It is a *Fachzeitschrift* in the full sense and best sense of the word. The study of American Church history is not forced upon the Catholic, as is in some way the study of religion. If there is to be a class of professional historians in this country, it must have for its backing a numerous class of persons actively interested in history, of amateur historians if you wish. If such a class is created the learned masters will have an audience to whom they may communicate the result of their studies and researches. But nobody is interested in a thing of which he knows either nothing or very little. The instruction given in the schools is a good foundation, especially if based on a truly Catholic book. But it is not enough. Religious knowledge must constantly be rehearsed and complemented by sermons and books, etc. So it seems to me historical knowledge requires rehearsing and complementing after the schoolbook has been thrown aside—sometimes with many sighs of relief. Unfortunately our Catholic press is neglected; but it is a power all the same. It could be utilized for our purpose. The means is the *popular article* and still more, perhaps, the *short story*. Such papers do not necessarily require great knowledge, much less original researches. All they need is supervision and direction. A regular crusade of such contributions to our Catholic papers might be started. But the contributors must not expect much in the line of financial success for themselves. The papers will not pay as a rule. Don't you think the Catholic University could give out the watchword for this crusade and even organize it as far as possible? If, afterwards, other agencies would take it up and start similar movements in their respective spheres, so much the better—*Raum für alle hat die Erde*. The attention of those who have charge of college and high school papers might also be called to this point."

Father Betten gave a strong proof of his interest in historical work, when he undertook in 1915 to review West's *Ancient World*. The publishers, Allyn and Bacon, he says, have been most sympathetic, and all the alterations suggested by him have been adopted. Father Betten is now engaged on a revision of another volume by the same author.

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GENERAL INDEX

(*Book reviews are indicated by* "rev.").

Abenaki Mission, 309.
Acadia, Marc Lescarbot in, 258.
Acostá, José de, 259, 266, 268, 270, 298.
Acta et Dicta, 359.
Acalà de Henares, University of, 298.
Addresses at Patriotic and Civic Occasions by Catholic Orators, rev., 106-107.
Aglipay, Ichismatic "bishop," 385-391.
Adrian (Pope) and Fonseca, 147.
Agence Ecclésiastique du Clergé Catholique des Etats-Unis, 413-416.
Aguado and Columbus, 137-138.
Alba, Duke of, and Fonseca, 143.
Albornoz, Rodrigo de, 148.
Alexander VI—See of Gardar (1492?) Appointment of Bishop Mathias, O. S.B., 225-227; and the Philippines, 375.
Allouez, 358.
Al-Mashrig, 446.
Althoff, Rt. Rev. Henry, second Bishop of Belleville, 154.
Altoona, Diocese of, 22, 26.
Alvord, Prof., 367.
America, Horn's description of, 274.
America, Anglo-Saxon and Spanish, contrast in situation of colonies of, 302.
America, Spanish, coöperation of church and state in, 297-307.
American Bibliography, a chronological dictionary of all books, pamphlets and periodical publications printed in the United States of America from . . . 1639 down to . . . 1820, 317, 318.
American Catholic Historical Association, necessity for, nucleus already existing, 365.
American Catholic Historical Society (of Philadelphia), 360, 394-396.
American Colonization Society, Catholics in, 40.
American Church History, Manual of, elements of, 248; plan for manual of, 248, 249.
American Catholic Hierarchy, Chronology of, 22-32; 151-164.
American Historical Association, Annual Report of, 359-360.
American Historical Review, 243-247.
American Irish Historical Society, 71; journals of, 56, 57.
American occupation of the Philippines, 417-445.
American Revolution, influence of Quebec Act, 367.
Americana, Library of Catholic, 363-364.
Ancourt, Abbé d', 313, 321.
Andrés de Urdaneta, 376.
Anduze, Fr., oration at Bishop Rosati's Consecration, 168.
Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, 392-417 *passim*.
Anschar, St., and Greenland, 211-213.
Anti-Catholic penal laws, 41.
Anti-Catholic riots in Philadelphia, 42.
Antonelli, Card., and Archbishop Hughes, 338.
Archdioceses: Chicago, 151-153; Dubuque, 159-160; St. Paul, 154-156.
Archives: Baltimore, 7; Delaware, 55; Georgia, 202; Indias, Archio. Gen. de, 358, 359; New Jersey, 55; New York, 337, 338; Proc. Gen., C. M. (Rome), 13, 14, 20; Propaganda, 4-20; *passim* 81-86; Carroll, 5; Maréchal; St. Louis, 360, 361. Vatican, *Documenta Selecta* (Heywood), 210-227; Middle West Catholic, 392-416.
Arizona, 317; Vicariate Apostolic of, 30, 32.
Arnold, Benedict, 477-481.
Audizio, Father, 169.
Augustinians in the Philippines, 375-391 *passim*.
Auxiliary Sciences. *Diplomatics*—definition of, importance of knowledge of, necessity of, and value for National Catholic Archives, 118-124.
Ayllon, Vasquez de, and Negro colonists, 33.

Babbitt, Charles H., *Early Days at Council Bluffs*, rev., 349-350.
Baccari, Father, Rosati's letters to, 10, 12, 13, 14, 20; on Bishop Dubourg's resignation, 172; Louisiana Seminary project, 175, 177-178; mentioned for See of New Orleans, 183.
Badin, Fr., proto-priest of the United States, 151.
Bagley and Rugg, *Content of American History*, rev., 117.
Baker, Mrs. Christina, 310, 311, 319.
Baltes, Rt. Rev. Peter Joseph, second Bishop of Alton, 153.
Baltimore, Lord, 308, 316.
Baltimore, 11, 17, 24, 51; administration of Church in Florida and Louisiana, 4; Archbishop of, 23; jurisdiction of Bishop of, 26; jurisdiction of See of, 4; Pittsburgh, a Suffragan See of, 24; Schools for Negroes, 43.
Baltimore House, near Tisbury, Wiltshire, 72-76.
Bancroft, Hubert H., 317.

Bandelier, Adolf, 275, 295.
Bandot, Rev. Fr. Seraphin, 315.
Baraga, Rt. Rev. Frederic, first Bishop of Marquette, 28.
Bardstown, Bishop of, 9; Cathedral at, 8; Bardstown, Cincinnati and Detroit, bishops of, 26; Illinois, part of Diocese of, 151.
"Barrens," the, 13-19, 165-177, 334.
Barron, Clarence W., *The Mexican Problem*, rev., 356-357.
Barron, Rev. Edward, Vic. Apost. of the Two Guineas, 40, 334.
Bayley, Arch., 493-494.
Becraft, Maria, 43.
Bellarmine, Card., possible influence on the Declaration of Independence, 282-289.
Beltran, Fray Luis, 301.
Benavides *Memorials*, the, 76-78.
Benedictines, at St. John's Abbey, 156; of New Subiaco, 494.
Berkeley, Bishop (Cloyne), and early education in New England; benefactor to Yale and Harvard, 69-70.
Bernaldez, friend of Columbus and Fonseca, 138-139.
Betten, Rev. F., S.J., 499.
Bibblotti, 487.
Bibliographia Americana Catholica, 308, 317.
Bibliography of American Catholic Historical Societies, 360.
Bibliography: Auxiliary Sciences: *Diplomatics*, definition of, necessity for preservation of, and study of documents, processes for, 118-124. *Historical bibliography*, definition of; instruments for research for; necessity for National Catholic library, 248-251. *Historical criticism*, external, internal, definition of, examples of, need for and value of, 368-371.
Bishop, for the Indians in 1790, 79-89.
Bishop Rosati and the See of New Orleans, 3-21.
Bishops, Faculties to American, copy of, 13.
Blair, John, 286.
Blanc, Archbishop, 399-416 *passim*.
Blanchet, Most Rev. Francis Norbert—first missionary in Oregon country, 189; De Smet and, 193; McLoughlin and, 190; made Vic. Apost., 195; Archbishop, 196; death of, 201; reasons for difficulties in Church in Oregon, 200-201.
Bobadilla and charges against Columbus, 141.
Boil, Father—complaints against Columbus, 136; Court influenced by, 137.
Bonacum, Rt. Rev. Thomas, first Bishop of Lincoln, 162.
Bonaparte, Charles J., and the rights of negroes, 39.
Booker T. Washington: Builder of a Civilization, by Scott-Stowe, rev., 230-231.
Boone, Daniel, 326-328.
Bordeaux, American Seminary at, 79.
Borgn, Fr. Philip, 16-21; writes of feeling against Bishop Du Bourg, 173.
Bourgade, Most Rev. Peter, Vicar-Apost., of Arizona; first Bishop of Tucson; fourth Archbishop of Santa Fe, 32.
Bourget, Rt. Rev. Ignatus, 195.
Brassac, Fr. Hercule, 166; 392-416; correspondence with American bishops (1818-1861), 448-470.
Breckinridge, Rev. John A., and Archbishop Hughes, 336.
Bribiesca, Jimeno de, 137, 140.
Brissot de Warville. Story in the History of the French revolution, by Aloise Ellery, rev., 352-356.
Brooklyn, Knights of Columbus historical work in, 363.
Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society, 360.
Brouillet, Father, Vic. Gen., 196.
Brown, Rev. John J., S.J., declines El Paso, 32.
Brownson, Orestes A., 41.
Bruté, Rt. Rev., 10, 151, 492-494.
Burke, Edmund and the penal laws, 53.
Burke, Rt. Rev. Maurice F., first Bishop of Cheyenne, 162.
Burlington, 22.
Burnett, Hon. Peter H., first Gov. of California, 193.
Burtsell, Rev. Dr. Richard Lalor, 41.
Busch, Rt. Rev. Joseph F., fifth Bishop of St. Cloud, 157; second Bishop of Lead, 159.
Busch, Fr. William, 359.
Butsch, Rev. Joseph, S.S.J., 33-51.
Byrne, Rev. John B., appointment as coadjutor to Pittsburgh announced; presented by Bishop O'Connor; never consecrated, 24.

Calendrier français pour l'année commune 1781—first Catholic Almanac printed in United States, 316, 324-25.
Canevin, Rt. Rev. J. F. Regis, fifth Bishop of Pittsburgh, 24.
Caracas, University of, 298.
Carmelites, in Spanish America, 306.
Carnegie Institution of Washington, Dept. of Historical Research, debt of Catholic scholars to, 358, 359; main purpose of, publications of, success of, work of members of, 358-359.

Carolinas, the two, 4, 11, 55.
Carroll, Charles of Carrolton, 40, 308, 311, 316, 323.
Carroll (Most Rev. John), 4, 28; Card. Litta's letter to, 5; his appointment as Prefect Apostolic, 79.
Cartier, 291.
Carvajal, Fr. Gaspar, 483.
Casa de Contractacion, 141, 144, 14.
Cassilly, Rev. F., S.J., 498.
Castillo, Bernal Diaz del, 145-149 *passim*.
Catholic Americana, Knights of Columbus Library for, 363-364.
Catholic archives, libraries, museums, need for, 366.
Catholic authorship in American colonies before 1784, 308-325; some criteria for, 209.
Catholic bibliography, 308-309.
Catholic Church annals of Kansas City (1800-1857), 326-335.
Catholic Encyclopedia, 482.
Catholic Hierarchy in the United States, chronology of, 22-32, 151-164.
Catholic Historical Societies in the United States, list of, 360.
Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, 359, 360.
Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, 359, 360.
Catholic work for negroes, 50, 51.
Catholicism in the Philippine Islands, 375-391.
Cauchie, Canon Alfred, 371.
Cellini, C.M., Father, 174-175.
Chabrat, Rev. G. I., 8.
Challoner, Bishop, 79, 314, 322.
Chapelle, Most Rev. Placidus L., third Archbishop of Santa Fe; sixth Archbishop of New Orleans, 31.
Character sketches of the Rt. Rev. C. P. Maes, D.D., late Bishop of Covington, Ky., by the Sisters of Divine Providence, rev., 228-230.
Charles V, 297; and Albornoz, 148; and the Cortes, 146-149 *passim*; and Fonseca, 145-149; and Las Casas, 145.
Charrúas, 295.
Chastellux, Marquis de, 316, 318.
Choteau, Auguste, 327; Pierre, 327; families of, friendship with Laclede, 327-328; Francis Gesso, voyage of, 327-328-332; Miss Bernice, 327, 328.
Christopher Columbus, by Mildred Stapley, rev., 238-239.
Chronology of the American Hierarchy, 22-32; 151-164.
Church in Spanish America—cooperation of church and state, 302; Hidalgo Morelos, 299-300; secular clergy in, importance of their work, 297; separation of church and state, 303-306; church and state in the Philippines, 380.
Church in Spanish American history, 290-307.
Churches: Baltimore—St. Alphonsus, 23; Philadelphia—St. Augustine, St. Mary, Holy Trinity, St. Joseph, 22.
Cibola, negro Stephen and expedition to, 34, 35.
Cincinnati, See of, 9.
Collegio, Pio Latino Americano, 306.
Clark, Gen., meeting with Bishop Rosati, 170, 191.
Clark, Lewis and, expedition of, 326.
Code Noir, 37, 38.
Colorado, 30; and Utah, Vicariate Apost. of, 31.
Colonies, French American, 498.
Colucci, Father, 3.
Columbus—Fonseca, Irving on dispute between, 134-135; Isabella's sympathy for, 142; letter of to Diego Columbus about Fonseca, 142; Margarita's and Father Boil's complaints against, 136-137; Ojeda's commission, 140, 141, 142; and Las Casas, 140; Spanish sovereigns attitude towards, 138; Norse Christianity in America before, 210.
Columbus, Diego, and Fonseca's fiscal regulations, 138.
Columbus, Ferdinand, charge against Fonseca, 139.
Colonies, French Catholics in, 315.
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by Thomas Kilby Smith, rev., 471-472.
Conewago, 22.
Connelly, Rt. Rev. Msgr., 361, 362.
Conquest of Virginia, by Conway Whittle Sams, rev., 101-102.
Conwell, Rt. Rev. Henry, 22, 23, 336.
Corbett, Rt. Rev. Timothy, first Bishop of Crookston, 159.
Córdoba, Hernández de, 146.
Córdoba, University of, 298.
Corrigan, Rt. Rev. Owen B., D.D., 22-32; 151-164.
Cortés, and Fonseca; Albornoz charges against, 148; Castilla's story of conflict between, 145-149; and Adrian of Utrecht, 148; outwits Narvaez, 147; sends gold to Emperor, 146; spreads false reports about Fonseca, 146-147.
Corwin, Edward S., *French policy and the American alliance of* 1778, rev., 240-241.
Cosgrove, Rt. Rev. John Henry, second Bishop of Davenport, 162.
Cotter, Rt. Rev. Joseph B., first Bishop of Winona, 158.
Coulonges, John Louis Victor Le Tonnelier de, 81-86, 88.

Councils: Baltimore Plen., I, II, III; fifth Prov., 24; second Prov., 22.
Cretin, Rt. Rev. Joseph, first Bishop of St. Paul, 155-156.
Croke, Rev. James, and first church in Oregon, 200.
Crukshank, Joseph, 314.
Cuba, Columbus in, 292.
Cummings, Rev. Dr. J. W., 41.
Cunningham, Charles H., 417-445.
Cuzco, University of, 298.

Dahmen, Fr. F. X., C. M., 165, 177, 183, 184.
Dávila, Gil González, 131.
Davis, The Rt. Rev. James, third Bishop of Davenport, 162.
Dawson, Warrington, 33, 45.
De Andreis, Fr., judgment on Bishop Rosati, 3.
De Barth, Very Rev. Louis, administrator of Philadelphia, 22.
Declaration of Independence, 276, 277, 278, 289.
De Laet, John, and Hugo Grotius; bitterness of Grotius against, 269-271; chides Grotius, 266-274; comparison of languages, 269; controversy between, 259-275; importance of works of, 260.
Delehaye, Rev. H., S.J., 368.
Demers, Father Modeste, administrator, 195; Bishop, 196; with Fr. Blanchet, 189; New Caledonia Mission, 193.
De origine gentium Americanarum, 265.
De Smet, S.J., Father, earnest efforts for Indians; St. Mary's Mission; Meeting with Vic. Gen. Blanchet; return from Europe with priests; and sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, 192-193.
De Soto, Hernando, 33.
Deza, Diego de, 142.
Diaz, Porfirio, 298.
Dioceses:
Alleghany, suppression of, 24; Alton, 153; Altoona, 26; Bardstown, 151; Belleville, 154; Bismark, 159; Cheyenne, 162-163; Chicago, 151-153; Crookston, 159; Davenport, 161-162; Des Moines, 163; Dubuque, 160; Duluth, 158; Durango, 4, 32; El Paso, 32; Erie, 25; Fargo, 157-158; Gorizia, 209; Green Bay, 28-29; Jamestown-Fargo, 157-158; Harrisburg, 25-26; Kearney-Grand Island, 163; La Crosse, 29; Lavant, 209; Lead, 158-159; Lincoln, 162; Linz, 209; Marquette, 27-28; Milwaukee, 26-27; Newark, 22; Oregon City, 196; Peoria, 153-154; Philadelphia, 22, 23; Pittsburgh, 22-24; Quincy, 153; Rockford, 154; Ruthenian Greek Catholic, 163-164; Santa Fe, 30; St. Cloud, 156-157; St. Louis, 10; St. Paul, 155-156; Sault Ste. Marie, 1; Scranton, 26; Sioux Falls, 157; Superior, 29; Tucson, 31-32; Vancouver Island, 196; Vincennes, 151; Walla Walla, 196; Wilmington, 22.
A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico, by Edith O'Shaughnessy (Mrs. Nelson O'Shaughnessy), rev., 105-106.
Directory, The Laity's, 22.
Discours sur l'origine de l'inegalité parmi les hommes, 278.
District of Columbia, 4.
Documents, 79-89; 210-227; 336-339. Archbishop John Hughes, American Envoy to France (1861)—336-339; Seward's letter to, 337-338; A Bishop for the Indians, 79-89; Gallipolis, 79-89; the Medieval American Church, 210-227; Brassac's Correspondence with the American Bishops (1818-1861), 448-470.
Documentos ineditos, 488-490.
Domenec, Rt. Rev. Michael, C.M., second Bishop of Pittsburgh, 24.
Dominicans in the Philippines, 375-391 *passim*.
Donaldson, John L., *State Administration in Maryland*, rev., 233-234.
Donaldsonville, 165, 166, 167, 169.
Donnelly, Rev. Bernard, 334, 335.
Douglas, Stephen A., 337.
Dowling, Rt. Rev. Austin, first Bishop of Des Moines, 163.
Dowling, Rev. Cornelius, 47.
Drexel, Mother Katherine, and Order of the Blessed Sacrament, 49.
Du Bourg, Rt. Rev. William, 5-21, *passim:* residence at St. Louis, visits Lower La., and remains there, 12; suggests Bishop Flaget for new See, 7; suggests Brute or Rosati for new diocese, 10; archbishopric, 9.
Du Bourg, Bishop, and Rosati's elevation to St. Louis; consecration of Bishop Rosati, 165-169; pastoral letter (Bishop Rosati's appointment), 165; resignation, causes for, 173-181; Rosati's bewilderment at resignation, 172; Rosati's letter to, announcing resignation and division of the diocese, 181-182; pleads for Bishop Rosati, 185; and Brassac, 392-416; 448-470.
Duffy, Rt. Rev. James Albert, first Bishop of Grand Island, 163.
Duggan, Rt. Rev. James, fourth Bishop of Chicago, 152.
Dunne, Rt. Rev. Edmund Michael, second Bishop of Peoria, 154.
Dunwoodie, Seminary, 336, 337, 339.

Du Luht, explorer, 154.
Dumoulin, Rev. Sévère Joseph Norbert, celebrates first Mass at Pembina, N. D., 157.
Durango, Mexico, 30; diocese of, 4.

Early Days at Council Bluffs, by Charles H. Babbitt, rev., 349-350.
Early Irish Schoolmasters in New England, 52-71.
Early Philadelphia, Its People, Life and Progress, by Horace Mather Lippincott, rev., 473-477.
Egan, Rt. Rev. Michael, O.F.M., 22.
Eis, Rt. Rev. Frederick, fourth Bishop of Marquette, 28.
Eisvogels, Rev. Anthony, S.J., 333.
Elegías de Varones Ilustres, etc., 482.
El Dorado, 483.
Ellery, Aloie, *Brissot de Warville. A Story in the history of the French revolution*, rev., 352-356.
Emancipation, and Churches for negroes, 45.
Emmitsburg, Md., Mt. St. Mary's College, 336.
Engelhardt, Rev. Zepherin, O.F.M., 35, 317.
England, Bishop, 40.
Epler, Percy H., *The Life of Clara Barton*, rev., 236-238.
Erie, Diocese of, 22.
Escuelas Pias, 379.
Estaing, Count D', 315, 320-321, 324.
Evans, Charles, *American Bibliography*, 317.

Fargis, Joseph H., 365.
Farrell, Rev. Thomas, 41.
Farrelly, Stephen, 365.
Feehan, Most Rev. Patrick Augustine, first Archbishop of Chicago, 152.
Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, 58.
Fenelon, 311, 319, 320, 321.
Ferrari, Father Andrew, 166; Rosati's request for, 169.
Filipinos, 375-391 *passim*.
Filmer, Sir Robert, Sidney's answer to, 280-283.
Finotti, Rev. Joseph, 308, 316.
Fite, Emerson David, and Thompson, Frederick Ferris, *History of the United States*, rev., 241.
Fitzmaurice, Rt. Rev. John E., fourth Bishop of Erie, 25.
Flaget, 5-20 *passim*: opposition to St. Louis; suggestions to raise necessary revenue, 5-7; letter to Archbishop Neale describing conditions for success in new bishopric; Jesuits best suited for work in, 7-9; letter to Mr. Gratiot, 7; not to be transferred to St. Louis, 9; Vicariate, Flaget against new, 17; and Rosati, 184.
Flatey Book (*Flateyjarbok*), Copenhagen, 1893, 210.
Flasch, Rt. Rev. Kilian Caspar, second Bishop of La Crosse, 29.
Florida, 4, 258.
Florissant, Mr., 330, 332.
Flowers, Montaville, *The Japanese Conquest of American Opinion*, rev., 234-235.
Foley, Rt. Rev. Thomas, fifth Bishop of Chicago, 152.
Fonck, Rev. Leopold, S.J., 370.
Fonseca, the Bahia de, 131.
Ford, Henry Jones, *Scotch-Irish in America*, rev., 340-348.
Fort Vancouver, fort established, 188; missionaries arrive at, 189; visit of Father De Smet to Vic. Gen. Blanchet at, 193.
Fox, Rt. Rev. Joseph John, fifth Bishop of Green Bay, 29.
France and American colonies, 315.
Franciscans in the Philippines, 375-391 *passim*.
Franciscan sisters, work of, among negroes, 49-50.
Franklin, Benjamin, 79, 312.
Fremont, John C., 333.
French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778, by Edward S. Corwin, rev., 240-241.
French refugees in Boston, 310.
Freneau, Philip, 316.
The Friars Preachers, by Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., rev., 367.
Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick, 314, 322-323.

Gesowsky, Rev. Joseph T., 208.
Gibbons, Cardinal, and negro rights, 39; *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, rev., 90.
Gibbs, Judge, decision of favor of the Sisters of St. Joseph, 43.
Gilfillan, Rev. Francis, 361.
Gillitzin, Rev. Demetrius, 8, 9, 23.
Garvey, Rt. Rev. Eugene A., first Bishop of Altoona, 26.
Garibay, 143.
Gardar, See of, group of original sources for story of, 211-227.
Gassler, Rev. F. L., 399.
Georgetown, school for negroes at, 43.
Gerard, Minister to the United States, 315, 322, 324.
Gibbons, James Cardinal, *A Retrospect of Fifty Years*, rev., 91-94.
Gleason, Rev. J. M., 487.
Glennon, Most Rev. Archbishop, 359, 361, 362.

Gómara, 484, 488-490.
Gore, Rev. James, 49.
Gorizia (Goerz), 202.
Goshenhoppen, 22.
Gostenzhnik, Father George, 208.
Grace, Most Rev. Thomas L., O.P., second Bishop of St. Paul, 156.
Granjon, Rt. Rev. Henry, second Bishop of Tucson, 32.
Graves, W. W., *Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers and other early Jesuits at Osage Mission. Sketch of St. Francis Church. Life of Mother Briget*, rev., 350-351.
Green, Juliet, *Relations between the United States and Great Britain*, rev., 117.
Green Bay, 327; Bishop of, 27.
Greene, Rev. John H., and the *St. Joseph's Advocate*, 47.
Gregory XIII, and the Philippines, 378.
Gregory, XVI, 24, 26; and Dubuque, 160.
Griffin, Appleton Prentiss Clark, 359.
Grijalva, 146.
Grotius Hugo, and De Laet, John; controversy between, 259-275; De Laet refutes theories of, 266-274.
Guatemala, See of; Bishop Peñalver and, 4.
Guilday, *American Church History Manuscripts*, 76.

Habana, University of, 298.
Hanna, Rev. Elias, 446-447.
Harrisburg, Diocese of, 22, 25-26.
Hart, Albert Bushnell, 36.
Harty, Most Rev. Jeremiah J., third Bishop of Omaha, 161.
Havana, Bishop of, Florida under jurisdiction of, 4.
Heffron, Rt. Rev. Patrick Richard, second Bishop of Winona, 158.
Heiss, Most Rev. Michael, first Bishop of La Crosse, second Archbishop of Milwaukee, 27, 29; 397-400.
Hennepin, Rev. Louis, 154, 156, 358.
Hennessy, Most Rev. John, first Archbishop of Dubuque, 160.
Henni, Most Rev. John Martin, first Bishop, first Archbishop of Milwaukee, 27.
Herbermann, Charles G., *The Sulpicians in the United States*, rev., 94-99.
Herrera, Fonseca and Diego Columbus, 143.
Hess, Rev. Luke, O.S.B., 494.
Hidalgo, 300, 302.
Hill, Dr., his work at Seville, 358.
Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Lescarbot's, 258.
Historia Natural y moral de las Indias, De Acosta's, 259.
Historical Commission of the Catholic Union of Missouri, 361.
The History of Mother Seton's daughters, the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio, by Sister Mary Agnes McCann, rev., 102-104.
History of the United States, by Emerson David Fite, Frederick Ferris Thompson, rev., 241.
Hoban, Rt. Rev. Michael John, second Bishop of Scranton, 26.
Hobbes, Thomas, influence of on formers of Declaration, 278.
Hodge, Frederick Webb, 76.
Hoecken, Rev. Christian, S.J., 333.
Holiness of the Church in the Nineteenth Century, by the Rev. Constantine Kempf, S.J., rev., 235-236.
Holweck, Rev. F. G., 361.
Hough, Franklin B., *Notices of Peter Penet*, 80.
Hudson Bay Company, 187-199, *passim*.
Hughes, Most Rev. John, 336-339, *passim*: mission to France, 336, 339; Seward's letter to, 337-338; Seymour's request to, 338.
Hunt, Gaillard, 276-289.

Ignace La Mousse, Catholic Iroquois, 191.
Illinois, Church in 10; Kaskaskia, 329.
Independence, emigrants from, 328.
Indian Territory, Bishop Miege of, 31.
Indians, 258, 259, 269, 275, 308, 327, 330; Cayuse, 196-197; Featherheads, Iroquois, Nez Percés, Selish or Flathead, 191; Osage, 330; Kickapoos, 331; Pottowattomie, 331; Texas, Missions among, 359; Flatheads, Iroquois and Nez Percés, influence of Iroquois causes others to send for missionaries, 191; Jesuits undertake missions, 192-193; work of Father De Smet and companions and Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, 192-193; Umatilla, Dr. Whitman's mission among, 196-197.
Indies, laws of, 293; Spanish council of, policy of, 296; West, 296.
Innocent III, and Greenland, 213-216.
Inquisition in the Philippines, 417-445.
Ireland, Most Rev. John, first Archbishop of St. Paul, 156.
Irish, first American reference to the, 314.
Irishman's petition The, 314, 322.
Iroquois Confederacy, the Six Nations, 79-80.
Irving, on Fonseca, 131-132, 134.
Isabella, Queen, and Fonseca, 132, 292; death of, 142.
Iturbide, 301.

James I, and democracy, 283-285.
Jameson, Dr. J. F., 243-247.
Janssen, Rt. Rev. John, first Bishop of Belleville, 154.
Janvier, Father, 169.
Japanese Conquest of American opinion, by Montaville Flowers, rev., 234-235.
Jeanjean, Father, 169.
Jefferson, Thomas, 277-289, *passim*.
Jesuit relations, 308.
Jesuits:
Effect and results of Jesuit expulsion, 294, 305; esteem of Brazilians for, 303; training of natives, 130; studies in native languages and culture, 298; mission at mouth of Kansas, 329, 330; services to science, 297; suppression of in Louisiana territories, 329-330; unjust criticism of Jesuit missions, 294-295.
Jesuits in the Philippines, 375-391 *passim*.
John XXI, Archbishop John Rufus of Drontheim, letters of, 217-220.
Johns Hopkins University Studies in historical and political sciences. "State administration in Maryland," rev., 233-234.
Joliet, 330.
Josephites, work of in Southern States, 47.
Jourdain, Nicholas, 81, 83.
Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, first president of the Indies (1493–1523), 131-150.
Juarez, 295.
Juncker, Rt. Rev. Henry Damian, first Bishop of Alton, 153.
Justo, Fray, 301.

Kansas, earliest historic mention of, 326; city, 326; Catholic annals of, 328-335 *passim*.
Kaskaskia, 330, 331.
Katzer, Most Rev. Frederick Xavier, Bishop of Green Bay, Wis., third Archbishop of Milwaukee, 27.
Keane, Most Rev. John Joseph, second Archbishop of Dubuque; first rector of the Catholic University of America, 160.
Keane, Most Rev. James John, third Archbishop of Dubuque, 160.
Kelly, Rt. Rev. Patrick, of Richmond, 11.
Kelly, Father, and Bishop Barron, in Liberia, 40.
Kempf, Constantine, S.J., *Holiness of the Church in the Nineteenth Century*, rev,, 235-236.
Kenrick, Rt. Rev. Peter R., 332-334 *passim*.
Kenrick, Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick, Archbishop of Baltimore, 23; urges diocese at Pittsburgh, 23-24; and the Seminary at St. Louis, 21, 186.
Kentucky, Flaget's seminary in, monasteries for, 8.
Keuenhof, Very Rev. William, V.G., 326-335.
Kino, Father, 292.
Kirkland, Rev. Samuel, 80.
Klein, Julius, 290-307.
Koch, Rev. Anselm (O.F.M.), 208.
Koerdt, Rev. F., 494.
Koudelka, Rt. Rev. Joseph M., second Bishop of Superior, 29.
Kozlowski, Rt. Rev. Edward, auxiliary of Milwaukee, 27.

La Chaise, Père, 310.
Laclede, Pierre Liquest, 327-330; trading post at St. Louis, 327; Laclede, Maxent & Co., 327.
Lafayette, and the colored race, 39.
Lambing, Monsignor, *Foundation Stones of a Great Diocese*, rev., 204.
Lamy, Most Rev. John B., first Bishop and Archbishop of Santa Fe, 30, 31.
Lancaster, Pa., Church in, 22, 315.
Langlois and Seignobos, 370.
La Salle, 330, 358, 359.
Las Casas, 293; origin of tradition of cruelty of, 295-296; acquits Fonseca of blame for delay of third expedition, 139; differences with Fonseca, 145, 150; Ojeda's commission, 140; relief for Indians, 144; and Bribiesca, 140.
Laveille, E., S.J., *The Life of Father De Smet*, rev., 100-101.
Lawler, Rt. Rev. John J., third Bishop of Lead, 159.
Laws, anti-Catholic penal, 41.
Leake, J. M., *Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution*, rev., 485-486.
Lee, Jason, and Dr. John McLaughlin, 198.
Lee, Thomas Ludwell, 286.
Leeson, Rev. A. B., 49.
Leland, Waldo G., 358, 359.
Lemke, Father H., 203.
Lenihan, Rt. Rev. Thomas M., second Bishop of Cheyenne, 162.
Leo XII, and Bishop Du Bourg's resignation, 181-182.
Leo XIII, 26, 32, 151-162, 306.
Leopoldine Association, letters to, 203-206.
Lescarbot, Mark, his voyage, 258, 268.
A Letter from Charles Carroll, Senior, to the Reader. With his petition to the General Assembly of Maryland: his speech in support of it and the resolution of the House of Delegates thereon, 316.

A letter from a Romish priest in Canada to one Mrs. Christine Baker who was taken captive in her infancy and instructed in the Romish faith, but some time ago returned to this her native country: with an answer thereto by a person to whom it was communicated, 310-311, 319.
Lewis and Clark expedition, 326.
Liberia, Bishop Barron and, 40; Charles Carroll and, 40; Bishop England and, 40.
Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers and other early Jesuits at Osage Mission. Sketch of St. Francis Church. Life of Mother Briget, by W. W. Graves, rev., 350-351.
Life of Clara Barton, by Percy H. Epler, rev., 236-238.
Life of Father De Smet, by E. Laveille, S.J., rev., 100-101.
Life of George Washington, the father of modern democracy, by the Very Rev. James O'Boyle, rev., 351-352.
Lillis, Bishop Thomas F., letter on local parochial history, 362-363.
Lima, 297; account of earthquake at, 312; University of, 390.
Lincoln, President, 337, 338; Archbishop Hughes' correspondence with, 337.
Lippincott, Horace Mather, *Early Philadelphia, Its People, Life and Progress*, rev., 473-477.
Literature, Catholic colonial, 309.
Litta, Cardinal, and Bishop Du Bourg, 7; letter to Archbishop Carroll, 5.
Loras, Rt. Rev. Mathias, first Bishop of Dubuque, 160.
Loretto, Pa., 22.
Louisiana Purchase, 4; rumors of episcopal see in, 5.
Louisiana Territory; superior council of; suppression of Jesuits in, 329-330; Lower, 330; upper, 330.
Lozano, Fr. Pedro, S.J., 312, 319.
Ludwig Missions Verein, 392-395.
Lummis, Charles Fletcher, 76.

McBean, Mr., Bishop Blanchet and, 196.
McCann, Sister Mary Agnes, *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters, the sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio*, rev., 102-104.
McCarthy, Very Rev. Justin, S.S.J., 49.
McCort, Rt. Rev. John J., auxiliary of Philadelphia, 23.
McCoy, John Calvin, 329, 332.
McDevitt, Rt. Rev. Philip R., fourth Bishop of Harrisburg, 26.
McGavick, Rt. Rev. Alexander J., auxiliary of Chicago, 152.
McGlynn, Rev. Dr. Edward, 41.
McGolrick, Rt. Rev. James, first Bishop of Duluth, 158.
McGovern, Rt. Rev. Patrick, fourth Bishop of Cheyenne, 163.
McGovern, Rt. Rev. Thomas, second Bishop of Harrisburg, 25.
McKean, Thomas, 55.
McLoughlin, Dr. John, 187-200; Archbishop Blanchet's sketch of, 190-192; and De Smet, 193; generosity to American immigrants, 193-194; indignation of company at, and resignation, 195; kindness to Methodists; their ingratitude, 194; robbed of claims through Oregon Donation Land Bill, 198-200.
McMullen, Rt. Rev. John, first Bishop of Davenport, 162.
Machebeuf, Right Rev. Joseph, first Bishop of Denver, 31.
Mackenzie, Alexander, and the Oregon Country, 187.
Madison, James, 286.
Magellan, 375.
Mahotière, Jean de la, 81; letter to Pius VI, 83-85.
Maine Catholic Historical Society, 360.
Manila, 375-391 *passim*.
Manning, Archbishop, and the colored race, 46.
Marcos, Fray, 292.
Marechal, Most Rev. Ambrose; against new Vicariate of St. Louis, 17; letter to Propaganda, 181; influence at Rome, 11; proposed boundaries of Charleston, 11; report to Propaganda, 11; success at Rome, 13; and the refugee negroes, 44.
Margarita and Columbus, 136-137.
Maria de Agreda, 359.
Marquette, 358.
Martial, Father, and Bishop Du Bourg, 173.
Martin IV, and Greenland (March 4, 1281), 222.
Martindale, Father, C. C., S.J., 247.
Martínez, Padre Benito, 147.
Marty, Rt. Rev. Martin, O.S.B., Vic., Apost. of Sioux Falls, first Bishop of; second Bishop of St. Cloud, 157.
Martyak, Rev. Gabriel (Ruthenian), administrator, 164.
St. Mary's, Phila., Father Bandot at, 315.
Maryland, 4, 11, 55, 302, 330.
Mason, George, 277-289 *passim*.
Mason and Slidell, 339.
Massachusetts Bay Co., 293, 310.
Matthews, Very Rev. William, 23.
Matz, Rt. Rev. Nicholas Chrysostom, second Bishop of Denver, 31.

Meehan, T. F., 40.
Melcher, Rt. Rev. Joseph, fourth Bishop of Green Bay, 28; declines Quincy, 153.
Mendieta, 488-490.
Merrill, William Stetson, 308-325.
Mesopotamian Priest in U. S. (1668-1683), 446-447.
Messmer, Most Rev. Sebastian G. fourth Archbishop of Milwaukee, 27, 28, 392, 448.
Mexico, 293, 295, 300, 301, 306, 308, 309; Mexico City, 297; University of, 390.
Methodists in Oregon, generosity of Dr. McLaughlin to, 195; their ingratitude and injustice, 197-200; true story of Whitman Massacre, 196-198.
The Mexican Problem, by Clarence W. Barron, with introduction by Talcott Williams, rev., 356-357.
St. Michael's Seminary, Pittsburgh, 204.
Michaud, Father, 169.
Michel, Rev. Virgil, O.S.B., 76.
Miege, Bishop, 31, 161.
Milwaukee, Archdiocese of, 27.
Minnesota, first Chapel in, 155.
Miranda, 300.
Miscellany I. *Baltimore House Near Tisbury, Eng.*, 72-76. II. *The Benavides Memorials*, 76-78; *Catholic Church Annals of Kansas City*, (1800–1857) 326-335; *the Very Rev. John E. Mosetizh*, 202-209; Earliest known Mesopotamian Traveller in America, 446-447.
Missions: Osage, 330; Kickapoo, 331, 332; Pottowatomie, 331-332; in Oregon, Canadian; St. Paul on the Williamette, 188-190; Caughnawaga: Ignace La Mousse, 191; New Caledonia, 193; St. Francis Xavier, 193; St. Mary's, 192-193; Walla Walla, 196; of California, 317.
Missionaries, influence on slavery, 37; in South America, 297.
Mississippi River, 308, 327.
Mississippi Valley in British politics, by Alvord, notice of, 367.
Missouri, state of, 10, 17, 328; country opened for settlement; great flood in 1826; Kansas City, Fort Leavenworth, West Bottoms, Westport Landing, 328-329.
Mohammedans in the Philippines, 375.
Monroe, James, 328.
Morelos, 300, 302.
Mosetizh, Very Rev. John, 203-209.
Motolinia, 298, 488-492 *passim*.
Mt. St. Mary's, 336.
Mrak, Rt. Rev. Ignatius, second Bishop of Marquette, 28.
Muerin, Rev. Sebastian, S.J., 330.
Muldoon, Rt. Rev. Peter James, first Bishop of Rockford, 154.
Melgarejo, Fray Pedro, 149.
Mullanphy, Judge, 170.
Mullen, Rt. Rev. Tobias, third Bishop of Erie, 25.
Mundelein, Most Rev. George W., third Archbishop of Chicago, 153.
Muraille, Rev. Jacques, H.N.J., de la, 44.
My Story: Being the Memoirs of Benedic Arnold, etc., by Frederic J. Stimson rev., 477-481.

Narvaez, and Cortes, 147, 148.
National Board for Historical Service, 242-243, 247.
National Catholic Archives, necessity for establishment of, 110-120.
National Catholic Library, necessity for, 251.
Nazareth, Ky., 184.
Neale, Rev. Charles, S.J., 330.
Nebrija and Fonseca, 138.
Negro Catholics in the United States, 33-51.
Negroes: Charles Bonaparte, and rights of, 39; Catholic mission work among, 33, 43; computation of Catholic work for, 51; future of Catholicism among, 50; Cardinal Gibbons and, 39; influence of San Domingo refugees on, 44; Kosciuszko and, 39; lack of priests for work among, 41; Lafayette and, 39; liberal attitude of French and Spanish towards, 37; Archbishop Manning and, 46; Marechal and, 44; need for separate churches for, 45-46; Bishop O'Connor and, 47; cruelty towards, 41-42; Negro Plot in New York, 41; schools at Baltimore, Georgetown, Washington, 43; steady progress of Missions for, 49; substantial aid given, 49; well-disposed, 50; work of diocesan priests for, 45; work of Franciscan sisters for, 49-50.
Neumann, Ven. John Nepomucene, C.SS.R., 23.
New England, 302; Catholics in, 310.
New England Catholic Historical society, 360.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 56.
New England, Irish teachers for Puritan children in, 56.
New Hampshire, Irish settlements in, 61; stories of Irish teachers in, 56.
New Jersey, 22; *Records*, 55.
New Mexico, 317; Vicariate Apostolic of, boundaries of, 30.
New Orleans, 172, 181, 182, 330.

New Orleans, Diocese of, 4, 16; bad spirit in, 9; Bishop of, 9; Coadjutor for, 10; priests in, 5;
New Travels through North America, Abbe Robin, 316, 325.
New York, 172, 313, 314, 317, 318. Historical Society, collections of, 55; *Records* of, 55.
Neckere, Father De, 177, 186.
Nicaragua, 131.
Nicholas III and Greenland, 220-221.
Nicholas V and Greenland, 223-225.
Notes and Comment, 108-117; 242-247; 362-367; 487-499.
Noticias de la P. de Californias, 494-495.
Notre Dame University of, jubilee of, 358.

Oblate Fathers and Bishop Blanchet, 196.
Oblate Sisters of Providence, 44.
O'Boyle, James, *The Life of George Washington the Father of Modern Democracy*, rev., 351-352.
O'Brien, Michael J., 52-130.
O'Connor, Rt. Rev. Michael, first Bishop of Pittsburgh, 24-25; and the Leopoldine Association, 205-206.
O'Connor, Rt. Rev. M., and colored Catholics, 47.
O'Connor, Rt. Rev. James, first Bishop of Omaha, 161.
O'Daniel, Rev. V. F., O.P., 367.
Odin, Father, 177.
Oglethorpe, Gen., 41.
O'Gorman (Trappist), Rt. Rev. James Miles, first Vicar-Apostolic of Nebraska, 161.
O'Gorman, Rt. Rev. Thomas, 210; second Bishop of Sioux Falls, 157.
O'Hara, Rev. Edwin V., 187-201.
O'Hara, John F., C.S.C., 78; 131-150; 488-492.
O'Hara, Rt. Rev. William, first Bishop of Scranton, 26.
Ohio Valley Catholic Historical Society, 360.
Ojeda, 140, 141, 142; Las Casas, view of, 140.
Olivier, Fr. Donatian, 5, 185.
Oneida Indians, 79-89 *passim*.
O'Neill, Rev. John, 496.
O'Regan, Rt. Rev. Anthony, third Bishop of Chicago, 152.
Oregon City, 194-200 *passim*.
Oregon Land Donation Bill, its injustice to Dr. McLaughlin's land claims, 198-200.
Oregon question, issue between United States and Great Britain, 187-189.
O'Reilly, Rt. Rev. Peter J., Auxiliary Bishop of Peoria, 154.
O'Reilly, Rt. Rev. James, second Bishop of Fargo, 158.
Origen de los Indios del Neuvo Mundo, 258.
Origin of American Aborigines, 257-275.
Ortynsky, Rt. Rev. Stephen Soter, first Ruthenian Bishop, 164.
O'Shaughnessy, Edith (Mrs. Nelson), *A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico*, rev., 105-106.
Our Africa, 47.
Oussani, Rev. Dr., 446-447.
Oviedo, 298.

Pallen, Condé B., 365.
Papist's curses, or A vindication of the Roman Catholiks, 311, 312, 319.
Paraguay, Catholic Church in, 293, 294, 297, 301, 305.
Paternina, Fray José, 417-445.
Patriots in the making. What America can learn from France and Germany, by Jonathan French Scott. With an introduction by the Hon. Myron T. Herrick, former ambassador to France, rev., 232-233.
Paulistas, 297, 304, 305.
Paullin, Dr., 358.
Payne, John, 310.
Pejepscot Papers, 67.
Pembina, N. D., first Mass at, 157.
Penal Laws, effect on education, 53.
Peñafrancia, Our Lady of, 384.
Peñalver y Cardenas, 4.
Penn, William, 282.
Pennsylvania, 282, 310; Commonwealth of, 471.
Pennsylvania Archives, 55.
Pennsylvania Gazette, 314.
Pensacola, 359.
Pernambuco, 303.
Peru, 258, 266, 296, 300, 305.
Peruvians, 266.
Permoli, Father, 177.
Petit, Father, 332, 333.
Phelan, Rt. Rev. Richard, third Bishop of Pittsburgh, 24.
Philadelphia, anti-Catholic riots in, 23, 42, 313, 314, 315, 316; "Firsts," 473-477.
Philibert, Gabriel, 328.
Philippines, Catholic Church in the, 375-391.
Pike, Lieutenant, expedition of, 320.
Pinelo, Leon, 298.
Pitaval, Most Rev. John Baptist, fifth Archbishop of Santa Fe, 31.
Pittsburgh, 22, 203.
Pius VII, 18, 182, 330; and Seminary at the "Barrens," 176.
Pius IX, 25-32 *passim*; Diocese of Quincy, 153; and Diocese of St. Paul

155; and Vicar-Apostolic of Nebraska, 161.
Pius X, 29, 159, 163; Bishop for Ruthenian Catholics in U. S., regulations 163; and Rockford, 154.
Plessis, Bishop, 157.
Plymouth, Irish schoolmasters at, 61.
Polk, President, and Archbishop Hughes, 337.
Pollen, Rev. J. H., S.J., 72-76.
Poniatishin, Very Rev. Peter, Ruthenian administrator, 164.
Portier, Father, 169; at consecration of Bishop Rosati, 172.
Portugal, 290, 291, 293.
Portuguese, colonies, 304; slave traders, 297.
Potini, Father Anthony, C.M., 167, 169.
Powell, David, 269.
Prairie du Rocher, Ill., 5.
Prendergast, Most Rev. Edmond F., 23.
Priests, work of diocesan, for negroes, 45.
Princeton, 286.
Printing-press, Canada, 308; Mexico, 308.
Protestant sects in the Philippines, 387-391 *passim*.
Provencher, Bishop, 188, 189, 190.
Province of Quebec, and the American Revolution, 367.
Provinces: Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Santa Fe, 22-23; Chicago, Dubuque, St. Paul, 151-164.
Purcell, Arch., and Brassac, 392-416.

Quarter, Rt. Rev. William, first Bishop of Chicago, 152.
Quebec, 28, Bishop of, and Father Meurin, S.J., 330; Diocese of 330; missionaries of Milwaukee subject to Bishop of, 26.
Quebec Act, 367.
Quest of El Dorado, by Dr. Zahm, C.S.C., rev., 481-485.
Quietism, in American colonies, 313.
Quigley, Most Rev. James Edward, second Archbishop of Chicago, 152.
Quito, University of, 298.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, has credulity, 484.
Randall, Thomas, 314, 322.
Randolph Bluffs, 327, 328.
Read, George, 55.
Recopilación, 293.
Records, Church and land, 53; of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, 58; of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England-Imitation of Christ, 309-310; of Scotland Parish, 56.
Redemptioners, Irish Schoolmasters as, 52.
Rensselaerswyck, 260.
Repplier, Agnes, 473.
A Retrospect of Fifty Years, by Cardinal Gibbons, rev., 91-94.
Review, American Historical, 243-247; *Catholic Historical*, 11, 247.
Revolution, teachers in the army of the, 55-56.
Revolutionary War, 79.
Rhode, Rt. Rev. Paul, sixth Bishop of Green Bay, 29.
Rhode Island, 315.
Richard, Father Gabriel, 151-169 *passim*.
Richmond College Historical Papers, 366-367.
Richmond, Va., See of, 11.
Rio de Janeiro, 303.
Rivadavia, 301.
Robin, Abbé Claude, 316, 325.
Robertson, James Alexander, 375-391.
Rochambeau, Count de, 316.
Rodriguez, Fray, 301.
Rosati, and the Indian Missions, 192; resident pastor to Chicago, 151.
Rosati, Bishop, and the See of New Orleans, ability and character of, 3-4; *Diary* of, 15; 16, 17; 21; humility of, 15; letters of, to Father Baccari, 10, 12, 14; manuscript *Life* of (Italian), 13; Propaganda's embarrassing situation over, 17; appointment, 16; activity of, 331, 332, 333, 360; and Brassac, 392-416.
Rosati's elevation to the See of St. Louis (1827), 165-186.
Rossetti, Father, Bishop Du Bourg's letter about and opinion of, 10.
Rosati, Father Joseph, C.M., 167.
Rothensteiner, Rev. John, 361, 362.
Rouchefoucault, 315, 323.
Roux, Father Benedict, 331, 332, 333, 335.
Ryan, Very Rev. C.M., D.D., 361.
Ryan, Rt. Rev. James, third Bishop of Alton, 153.
Ryan, Most Rev. Patrick John, 23.

Sacred Heart, Ladies of the, 169.
Sahagun, 298.
St. Anthony, Falls of, 154.
St. Boniface, Manitoba, 188.
St. Cyr, Rev. John Mary Ignatius, first Mass in Chicago, 151.
St. Francis Xavier, Green Bay, 151.
San Francisco, 317.
St. Genevieve, 165, 183, 184.
St. Isidore, Rome, Franciscan Convent of, 22.
St. John's Abbey, the Abbot of, Vicar-Apostolic of Northern Minnesota, 156.

St. Louis, Mo., 3, 16, 21, 23, 169, 170, 172, 332, 335, 360, 361, 362.
Salcedo and the Inquisition, 417-445.
Sales, Rev. Luis, O.P., 495.
Salpointe, Most Rev. John B., first Vicar Apostolic of Arizona; Coadjutor of Santa Fe; second Archbishop of Santa Fe, 30-31, 32.
Sams, Conway Whittle, *The Conquest of Virginia, the Forest Primeval*, rev., 101-102.
San Domingo, 16, 44; influence of refugee negroes from, 44.
Santiago, Chili, Catholic University of, 307.
Santiago de Cuba, Diocese of, 4; Archbishop of, 16.
Santo Domingo, 147, 296.
Santa Fe, Province of, 30, 32.
Santo Tomas de Aquinas, University of, 297.
Saulnier, Father, 169.
Saunier, Rev. A., 334.
Sour, Christopher, 310, 311, 319.
Scannell, Rt. Rev. Richard, second Bishop of Omaha, 161.
Schifferer, Rev. M., 207.
Schafleitner, Father, J. B., 208.
Schinner, Rt. Rev. Augustine Francis, first Bishop of Milwaukee; Bishop of Spokane, 29.
Schuler, Rt. Rev. Anthony J., S.J., first Bishop of El Paso, 32.
Schuller, Rudolph, 487.
Scotch-Irish in America, by Henry Jones Ford, rev., 340-348.
Scott, Jonathan French, *Patriots in the making, what America can learn from France and Germany*, rev., 232-233.
Scott-Stone, *Booker T. Washington; Builder of a Civilization*, rev., 230-231.
Scranton, Diocese of, 22, 26.
Schwebach, Rt. Rev. James, third Bishop of La Crosse, 29.
Sedilla, Father Anthony de, O.M.C., 167, 168, 169; proposed by Bishop Du Bourg as Coadjutor, 173.
Sees, first suffragan—Bardstown, Boston, New York, Pennsylvania, 4.
Seghers, Archbishop, eulogy of Archbishop Blanchet, 201.
Seguenot, Father Francois, 311.
Seidenbusch, Rt. Rev. Rupert, first Vicar Apostolic, of Minnesota, 156.
Seignobos, 370.
Selinger, Rev. Joseph, 361.
Selkirk Colony, Missionaries to, 157.
Seminary, St. Michael's, Pittsburgh, 204.
Serra, Father Junipero, 292, 309.
Seward, William H., and Archbishop Hughes, 336-339; fac-simile of his letter to Archbishop Hughes, 337-338.
Seymour, Gov. Horatio, and Archbishop Hughes, 338.
Shanahan, Rt. Rev. John W., third Bishop of Harrisburg, 25-26.
Shanahan, Rt. Rev. Jeremiah F., first Bishop of Harrisburg, 25, 26.
Shanley, Rt. Rev. John, first Bishop of Fargo, 158.
Shea, 4, 29, 34, 35, 42, 47, 79, 80, 173, 311, 319.
Sidney, Algernon, 278, 279; character, doctrine, influence on American mind. trial and writings, 279, 283, 287, 288,
Signay, Rt. Rev. Joseph, 188.
Sigüenza, and Fonseca, 132-133.
Sisters of Charity (Kentucky), 183.
Sisters of Divine Providence, *Character Sketches of the Rt. Rev. C. P. Maes, D.D., late Bishop of Covington, Kentucky*, rev., 228-230.
Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, 200-201.
Sisters of St. Joseph, summoned and arrested at St. Augustine, 42-43.
Sisters of Loretto, Bethlehem, 170.
Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, 397.
Slattery, Rev. J. R., 49.
Slave trade, beginning of, 35.
Slidell, Mason and, 339.
Smith, James, 55.
Smith, Thomas Kilby, *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, rev., 471-472.
Smyth, Rt. Rev. Clement, second Bishop of Dubuque, 160.
Soria, Juan de, Columbus' dissatisfaction with, 134.
Sorin, Edward and Notre Dame University, 358.
Souvay, Rev. C. L., C.M., 3-21; 165-186; 361; 400-411.
Spain, 262, 290, 307; crusade against Moors, 291-292; New, 294; transfer of Louisiana from, 4.
Spalding, Most Rev. John Lancaster, first Bishop of Peoria, 153-154; *Sketches of Life and Character of Bishop Flaget*, 5, 7, 9; negro mission work, 47.
Spalding, Mr. (Methodist minister), aided to escape by Vicar-General Brouillet; his ingratitude; charges proved false, 197.
Spaniards, clerics and soldiers, traits of, 293; printing press in Mexico, 308.
Spanish America, 303; and printing, 298-299; liberation, 305; the Church in, 290-307; scholars of, 298; savagery disproved, 295-296; persistence of misconception of Spaniards in, 296; Spanish colonial history, influence on and by the Church, 290.
Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf region if the United States, 1678-1702;

The beginnings of Texas and Pensacola, by W. E. Dunn, notice of, 359.
Stapley, Mildred, *Christopher Columbus*, rev., 238-239.
Stariha, Rt. Rev. John, first Bishop of Lead, 159.
State Administration in Maryland: John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences, by John Donaldson, rev., 233-234.
Stephen, a negro, and expedition to Cibola, 34-35; Father Marcos de Niza and, 34.
Stevens, *Facsimiles*, 498.
Stibiel, Father John, 208.
Stimson, Frederic J., *My Story: Being the Memoirs of Benedict Arnold*, rev., 477-481.
Stock, Leo, 358.
Sulpicians in the United States, The, by Charles G. Herbermann, rev., 94-99.
Sweeney, Lawrence, 314, 322.

Talavera, Fonseca entrusted to, 132-133; reference to, 142; Bishop, 150.
Talbot, Bishop and the American Colonies, 79.
Taney, Roger Brooke, 55.
Tannrath, Rt. Rev. J. J., 361, 362, 404.
Thompson, Frederick Ferris, and Fite, Emerson David, *History of the United States*, rev., 241.
Thurston, Samuel, Methodist, treachery to Dr. McLoughlin, 198-200.
Tichitoli, Father, 166; 393-395.
Tihen, Rt. Rev. J. Henry, second Bishop of Lincoln, 162.
Torquemada, 298.
Torres, Antonio de, return of, to Spain, with report and free supplies, 135, 136, 138; first slaves, 137.
Trobec, Rt. Rev. James, third Bishop of St. Cloud, 157.
Tuigg, Rt. Rev. John, third Bishop of Pittsburgh, 24.

United States, 4, 16, 22, 23, 308, 314, 315, 316; Catholic hierarchy in, 79; Catholic past of, 366; Canada and, 26; debt of Catholics of, to State Historical Societies, 366; transfer of Louisiana to, 4; treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 30.
United States Catholic Almanac, 331, 334.
United States Catholic Historical Society *Historical Records and Studies*, 104-105; plan to promote study of American Catholic history, 364-365; publications of, 360.
University: Caracas, 298; Cordoba, 298; Cuzco, 298; San Marcos, 297; Mexico City, 298; Santiago, Chile, 207; Santo Tomas de Aquino, 297; Quito, 298; Mexico, Lima, Santo Tomas, 390-391.
University, Notre Dame, Ind., 150, 356.
Uruguay, 295, 301.
Ury, Rev. John, hanged as priest, 41.

Vendevelde, Rt. Rev. James O., second Bishop of Chicago, 152.
Van der Sanden, Very Rev. Henry, 361.
Vanlomen, Father, 43.
Van Quickenborne, Father, 169, 330, 331, 332.
Vassar Semi-Centennial Series, *Brissot de Warville. A Story in the history of the French Revolution*, by Aloise Ellery, rev., 352, 356.
Vaughan, Father (Cardinal) and the Josephites, 46; negro mission work, 46-48.
Vega, Garcilaso de la, 298.
Venezuela, 298.
Vertin, Rt. Rev. John, third Bishop of Marquette, 28.
Vienna, Leopoldine Association of, 203, 205, 206, 208-209.
Vincennes, 184, 333.
Virgin of Guadalupe, 300.
Virginia, 4, 286, 288; Company, 292-293; convention, 276, 286; Declaration of Rights, 276, 277, 288.
Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution, by J. M. Leake, rev., 485-486.
Voyage de Newport à Philadelphia, Albany, etc., 316.

Washington, 337; school for negroes at, 43.
Washington, Booker T., 34.
Wehrle, Rt. Rev. Vincent, O.S.B., first Bishop of Bismarck, 159.
West Indies, 265, 296; Danish, Dutch, 4.
White, Father Andrew, S.J., 308.
Whitfield, Archbishop, Baltimore, 44.
Whitman, Dr., established mission among Umatilla (Cayuse) Indians, 196; Indians friendly at first then suspicious; the Whitman massacre and its effect on Catholic missions, 196, 197.
William and Mary College, 286.
William of Orange, 276, 283.
Williams, Rev. Eleazar (the "Lost Dauphin"), 81.
Williams, Talcott, 356.
Wilson, James Grant, 42.
Winsor, Justin, 317.
Winthrop, John, 57.
Wood, Most Rev. Frederick, first Archbishop of Philadelphia, 23.
Woodson, Carter Godwin, 37, 38, 40, 41, 44.

Woodstock, Md., 34.
Wright, Herbert F., 257-275.
Ximenez and Las Casas, 145, 150.

Young, Rt. Rev. J. M., declines Pittsburgh; second Bishop of Erie, 25.
Yucatan, crosses found in, 257.
Y. M. C. A., in the Philippines, 389-391.

Zumárraga, first Bishop of New Spain, founder of first school for higher education in America, 297; 299.
Zubiria, Bishop of Durango, 30.
Zahm, Dr. J. A., C.S.C., *Quest of El Dorado*, rev., 481-485.
Zaplotnik, Rev. John L., 202-209.
Zardetti, Rt. Rev. Otto, first Bishop of St. Cloud, 156-157.
Zúñiga, Cardinal, 142.